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THE CONWAY AND THE MENAI FERRIES

BY

H. R. DAVIES

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A REVIEW OF THE RECORDS OF

THE CONWAY AND THE MENAI FERRIES

by

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PREFACE

THE late Mr. Henry Rees Davies had for some forty years been engaged in researches into the history of the ferries across the Straits which flow in front of his own home. Mr. Davies was an admirable example of a fine old type which, under the stress of modern life, has well-nigh vanished. Conspicuous in the public life of the Isle of Anglesey, actively occupied with the interests of the University College of North Wales, and of other institutions, he yet found time for historical studies. His means enabled him in large measure to neutralise the effects of impaired health and advancing age, in that he was able to secure the services of experts who copied, on his behalf, all the documents at the Public Record Office and elsewhere which he wished to consult—or again, to procure photostatic copies of such documents as seemed to him to require more minute scrutiny. And so, without haste yet without rest, he had been able (despite repeated interruptions caused by illness) to bring his work to its final stages. One or two fragments of it had appeared in print; the account of the Menai Ferries, in the *Inventory of the Ancient Monuments of Anglesey* (1937), had been widely approved.

In the summer of 1939 Mr. Davies asked me whether I knew of a typist competent to type out the MS. of his now completed work; fortunately an experienced "academic" typist was available at the time. He then asked me to "look over" some of the type-script, to suggest where it should be "condensed," and to try to find him some person sufficiently trained in historical work to carry out this "reduction," as he called it. My reply, after reading the script, was that in my view the whole of the draft should be printed, so that students of history should not be deprived of the considerable sum of historical data which he, at a great expenditure of time and money, had extracted from sources difficult of access. Mr. Davies modestly replied that he was "relieved" to have my view; would I now advise him how to set about getting the book published?

The University of Wales Press Board (by this time confronted with war-time problems) had resolved to enter into no fresh commitments during the war. But when this work was brought to its notice, the Board was so favourably impressed that it decided to publish it, subject to two conditions: that the author should subsidise the publication, and that the book should be "finished off" in certain minor respects. As to the first condition, Mr. Davies readily accepted all responsibility—I have now to add that his family have shown equal readiness to see the matter through. As to the second, he told me that his health was by that time so unsatisfactory (and he was in his seventy-ninth year) that he himself could do nothing; he would be very grateful if I could take the work off his shoulders.

Though I was in no sense technically qualified, I felt that on other accounts I could not refuse. Mr. Davies had been for very many years a generous benefactor to this College; and more specifically he had made munificent contributions to its Library and its Museum—in other words, to the apparatus available for the work of my own Department. Then again, although he desired to be spared the routine work of proof-reading and of seeing the book through the press, he would still (I thought) be at hand for consultation on any points of doubt which might emerge. Unfortunately, things did not work out so. Mr. Davies met with an accident which laid him up for a long time; and afterwards when (as it seemed) he was well on his way to a relative restoration of health, death suddenly supervened. He had been able to do nothing but to select a title (a characteristically modest title) for his book, and to send me a scrawl in pencil, concurring with certain suggestions of mine as to the rearrangement of the matter and the "straightening-out" of the footnotes. I have also to confess with regret that other calls upon my own time have retarded the work of preparing the book for press.

The arrangement of the book will not, I know, commend itself to all readers. I should explain that Mr. Davies had written out his final draft as a continuum, in chronological order, subdividing it into twenty-six sections; the history of a particular ferry would be brought down to a particular date, then that of another ferry, and so on—and the terminal dates of the sections were not uniform. What I have done is to keep, generally speaking, to his order, but to divide the book into three main chapters—Mediaeval, Early Modern, and Later Modern; in this rearrangement the author had concurred; and I transferred certain portions of the matter to other places in order to keep the chronology even. Sir John Lloyd was good enough to suggest to me a totally different (and a much better) plan, namely, to print the history of each ferry separately, from start to finish. I did set to work on this plan. One obvious drawback was that the "Western Ferries," naturally enough, would have occupied two-thirds of the book. I then thought of balancing matters by subdividing Mr. Davies's "Western Ferries" into two groups, a "Middle" and a "Western," in order to divide the book more evenly. But during two long and important periods, all four ferries which Mr. Davies called "Western" were worked together, and he had thus been compelled to intertwine their histories in such a way that they could not well have been disentangled. I had to return to my three-period scheme.

The other problem was that of the footnotes and bibliography. There was no bibliography. As regards the footnotes, it should be remembered that Mr. Davies had worked piecemeal, and had not been able to reconsider the draft as a whole. The footnotes were therefore not uniform in their method of reference : a book would be repeatedly (indeed often) given its full title, date, imprint, etc., or again cited under various titles in various places. Brevity and uniformity were desirable. On the advice of Dr. Thomas Richards, I extracted from the footnotes a list of all the sources and books used by the author, devised "short references" to them, and arranged these references in alphabetical order for printing at the beginning of the book ; then the notes were revised and the new symbols utilised in them. Four or five works, however, mentioned only two or three times in the book, have titles which would have made intelligible contraction difficult ; in these few cases I have left Mr. Davies's footnotes as they stood. But the list at the beginning is therefore not strictly a "bibliography"—that is, it does not recount (still less classify) all the materials used by the author—though it may roughly serve as such. I ought to add that Mr. Davies's executors have very kindly presented the whole of his materials —books, MS. copies of records, photostats, and maps (including photostats of the rare early Ordnance maps)—to the Library of this College.

The text of the book (apart from the transfers mentioned, a few alterations in punctuation, and the correction of obvious slips) is exactly as Mr. Davies left it. Only one "Appendix" appears in this volume ; Mr. Davies had at one time intended to include others, notably an account of Penmaenmawr ; but he had definitely excluded from the final type-script all but what is printed here. The MSS. of the rest are, however, in the College Library.

The Index has been prepared, at the request of the Press Board, by my colleague, Mr. T. Jones Pierce. I have to thank Mr. Jones Pierce also for many valuable suggestions made while the book was passing through press.

R. T. JENKINS.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF NORTH WALES,
BANGOR,
March 25, 1942.

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF REFERENCES IN THE FOOTNOTES

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Arch. Camb.	*Archaeologia Cambrensis* (the year of issue is given).
B.B.C.S.	*Bulletin* of the Board of Celtic Studies of the University of Wales (year of issue given).
B.M.	British Museum.
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Bye-gones	*Bye-gones relating to Wales and the Border Counties* (from 1871).
C.H. (and C. & D.H.)	*Carnarvon Herald and North Wales Advertiser* (Jan. 1, 1831, to Feb. 2, 1836), continued as *Carnarvon and Denbigh Herald* from Feb. 9, 1836.
C.P.R.	Calendars of Patent Rolls.
C.W.P.	Calendar of Wynn (of Gwydir) Papers. N.L.W. 1926.
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CHAPTER I

THE FERRIES IN THE MIDDLE AGES

I. THE CONWAY FERRY DOWN TO 1429

ONE is inclined to regard the account given by Giraldus Cambrensis of his journey with Archbishop Baldwin from Bangor to Rhuddlan, in the year 1188, as furnishing the earliest extant mention of the Conway ferry. They journeyed from Bangor along the coast, "confined on one side by steep rocks, and by the sea on the other," and "having crossed the river Conwy or rather an arm of the sea under Deganwy, leaving the Cistercian monastery of Conwy on the western bank of the river to our right hand we arrived at Ruthlan."[1]

There does not appear to be anything on record to suggest that any substantial change had taken place in the configuration of the Conway estuary between the twelfth century and the nineteenth, and the position between Degannwy and the Morfa, where the ferrymen ply today, just within the narrow entrance to the estuary, seems to be the natural position for the ferry. Here the channel, at the present day and as depicted in Lewis Morris' chart of 1748, is barely half as wide at high water as it is opposite Conway, and is no wider than it is opposite Conway at low water; and here the channel is free of the shifting sandbanks which, as we shall find, formed so serious a drawback to the Conway ferry.

Sir J. E. Lloyd refers to Degannwy as "the royal manor of Creuddyn, associated by tradition with the glories of the reign of Maelgwn, known to have been a stronghold in the ninth century, and only eclipsed as the principal fortress of the district when Edward I built Conway on the opposite side of the river."[2] May we not question whether, if it was feasible to cross beneath Degannwy, the possessors of the fortress would have permitted the ferry to operate in any other position? We may note that during the years following 1247, when Henry III was firmly established east of the Conway river, with his strong castle at Degannwy,[3] he drew revenue from the Conway ferry,[4] and that, in 1256, orders were sent to the Justiciar of Chester "to permit the Friars Preachers of Bangor and their Men to cross freely and without interference at the water of Gannoc and elsewhere within his baliwick."[1]

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[1] Gir. Camb., Vol. II, p. 123–134.

[2] Lloyd, *Hist. Wales,* Vol. I, p. 240.

[3] *Ibid.,* Vol. II, p. 708.

[4] Pipe Roll, 94, No. 18, m. 2. King's Lands in Wales, 31–4. Hen. III "103s. of the pleas and perquisites of the Commote (i.e. 'Creudyn') with the passage of Cunway."

May we not then reasonably conclude that it was the Conway ferry by which Giraldus and the Archbishop crossed, and that this was situated beneath Degannwy, until Edward I moved it nearly a mile higher up the estuary, and placed it beneath the walls of his new borough?

In the year 1198 the Abbey of Aberconwy received its great Charter from Llywelyn ab Iorwerth, and two clauses in this Charter call for notice here.[2] The Charter commences with the delineation of the boundaries of the lands granted to the Abbey. First, the lands adjacent to the Abbey, upon the west side of the river, are dealt with, followed by the lands to the east of the river, in Creuddyn. Then, before passing to the more distant lands, the following clause is inserted: "I have granted also to those monks the whole water of Conwy and the transit of that water and the fishery of Abergeffyn as far as Aberconwy." This clause appears to be associated with and complementary to the grant of lands on the two opposite shores of the estuary. It would clearly make the monks and their boats free of the intervening waters. But, does it do more? Can it be held to grant —as has been assumed[3]— the rights of public ferry?

Later in the Charter the liberties and privileges conceded to the Abbey are set forth. The monks are granted, *inter alia*, freedom from toll, passage, pavage and pontage, throughout the prince's lands: and then follows our second clause: "And that they and all their servants and all their goods freely and without any payment shall have transit provided across Meney Conwy Abermaw & Dyui and at all passages throughout my dominion any law or custom notwithstanding." This is a grant to the monks of free passage at all ferries throughout the Prince's dominions, including the ferry, or ferries, across the Conway river. Does not this imply that the Conway ferry was, in 1198, in the Prince's hands?

There is, however, a further record which must be considered in this connection. An Extent of the County of Caernarvon was made in the year 1284, and the portion dealing with the Conway district appears to have been made after the transference of the Abbey to Maenan, but before the new burgesses had been established at Conway. The Extent itself has not survived; but when, during Edward III's reign, the rhingylls begin to account for the rents and other issues of their respective commotes—answered for up to this time by the sheriffs—they base their accounts very closely upon this Extent, and when they fail to account for any issue specified in it, they state the reason for the failure.

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[1] Close Roll 35, Hen. III, m. 20.

[2] The Charter is printed, from Dugdale's *Monasticon*, in Williams, *Aberconwy*, p. 163.

[3] Lowe, *Northern Wales*, Vol. I, p. 268.

Two rhingylls render the account for Arllechwedd Isaf, for the year 24–25 Edward III (1351), and in it we find the following entry: "For 40s from two carucates of land of Abercon' 26s 8d from one meadow there 6 li from the borough formerly of the Abbot of Abercon' 20 li from the passage of Abercon' 20s from the garden outside the vill of Abercon' 20s from the pasture below the garden [which are] contained in the extent above cited they [i.e., the rhingylls] answer nothing because delivered to the burgesses by the King to be held by certain services wherefor the bailiffs of that will answer in their account."[1]

Here we find the ferry grouped with the Abbot's late borough and the lands adjacent to it, all of which had presumably belonged to the Abbey. But we must note the reason for the grouping. These are all items in the early Extent of Arllechwedd Isaf for which the rhingylls should answer, but for which they do not answer because they are returned in the account of the bailiffs of Conway. This is the reason for the grouping, and it does not necessarily imply any earlier association of the ferry with the Abbey.

We may carry this matter a step further and point out that the ferry was clearly in Edward I's hands at the time when the Extent was made and, therefore, if it had been earlier held by the Abbot he must have surrendered it with his other possessions at and around Conway. When, however, we turn to Edward's Charter to the Abbot, of 23rd October, 1284, we find it stated that Maenan and the lands around it had been given in compensation for the former site of the Abbey and for the lands adjacent to it and the Grange of Creuddyn.[2] There is not a word about the ferry, which would hardly have been left unmentioned. Again, at the Quo Warranto Proceedings, in the Black Prince's day, we find the then Abbot giving the same account of what had been surrendered at Conway in 1284. He still claims the free passage at all ferries, under Llywelyn's Charter, but does not suggest that the Abbey had ever enjoyed any other interest in the ferry.[1] May we not safely hold that the Conway ferry was a royal ferry throughout, and that it passed directly into Edward I's hands at the fall of Llywelyn ab Gruffydd?

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[1] M.A. 1171-7 and several subsequent accounts. There is a difference between the ferry and the other items. It was never delivered to the burgesses, as stated, and was, as we shall find, only once leased to them as a community. The rent, however, was normally collected and accounted for by the bailiffs.

[2] Williams, *Aberconwy*, p. 173; and *Rec. Caern.*, p. 145–146.

The annual value of £20 placed upon the Conway ferry, in the early Extent, is nearly four times the amount for which it is farmed during the following years. If the ferry had operated under Degannwy, up to the time when the Extent was made, this might perhaps have gone far towards explaining the discrepancy. The cost of working a ferry was an important factor in determining the amount for which it could be farmed. Thus no one would farm the wide ferry at Caernarvon, between 1320 and 1425, and then it is leased for no more than 7s. p.a. On the other hand, the ferry at Tal y cafn, where the cost of working would be small, is, about 1364, farmed for £6 10s. 0d., the highest rent paid for any of the North Wales ferries during the fourteenth century. The Extent value of the Conway ferry is never referred to in the accounts, and it may have been no more than a sanguine estimate on the part of the framers of the Extent.

Though a good deal has been written about Conway in the early days, no one has defined for us the positions of the vills, or townships, upon the Creuddyn side of the estuary, which figure so prominently in the early records.

The earliest bailiffs' accounts show that besides their fairs and markets in Conway the burgesses also had fairs and markets across the water in the vill of Gannow; and that they paid rents for certain holdings, not only in Conway and outside its walls, but also in the vill of Gannow. This vill has been held to be the old borough of Degannwy, founded by Henry III, and now made part of Edward I's new borough of Conway.[2]

The records, however, tell of another vill of Gannow. Upon the Creuddyn side of the river we find three native vills which never, during the lifetime of the ferry, form part of Conway. Their rents are answered for, throughout the years, to the sheriffs, the rhingylls or the receivers. They figure in the early accounts as "Ganneu," "Bodescathlan" and "Penlassoc." Between them, they hold the great weir of Gannow, which at a later date, we are told, is "called Goret Vailgon," each vill paying, in addition to its own rents, services and customs, one third of the 40s. at which the weir had been valued in the early Extent.[3] The natives of these vills suffer heavily at the time of the Black Death. Their association with the weir is terminated

[1] *Rec. Caern.*, pp. 144 to 150.

[2] Lewis, *Boroughs*, p. 193–4.

[3] M.A. 1171/11 and preceding accounts.

by Glyndwr's rebellion. During Henry V's reign, Gannow, which now begins to be called Vaerdref, and Penlassok, in which no villeins now remain, are farmed to individuals; and Bodescallen, though not until much later, eventually shares the same fate. When we come to 1825, the last complete year of the ferry, we find Sir Thomas Mostyn answering for the rents of "Bodiscallen" and "Vairdreffe," while Owen Williams, Esq., who now contracts to surrender his interest in the ferry to the crown, holds "Penlassock."

There do not appear to be any extant Conway bailiffs' accounts earlier than for the year 1304–5; but the accounts of Robert de Belvero, the Chamberlain, show receipts in respect of the mill and passage, for several years from 1287–8 onwards.[1] These are, however, payments on account, and fail to show definitely what the rent of the ferry was.

Among the names of those making these payments, appears that of one Adinet Patyn, and there is to be found upon the dorse of the roll containing Roger de Pulesdon's account, as sheriff of Anglesey, for the year 1291–2,[2] a copy of an account of the farm of the Conway ferry, for 1289–90, rendered directly to the Chamberlain by Adinet Patyn. A literal translation of this account in the form of the original is as follows: "Account of Adinet Patyn farmer of the Passage of Conewey from the feast of St. Michael in the year of the reign of King Edward xvij to the same feast in the year of the reign of the King aforesaid xviii."

The same renders account for C[s] of the farm of the passage aforesaid from the aforesaid feast of St. Michael in the year of the reign of King Edward xvii until the same feast in the year of the reign of the King aforesaid xviii by the aforesaid as is contained etc.[3] And for ijs of the Passage of strangers beyond his farm this year.[4] And for iijs for a certain boat sold to the same by the Treasurer as is contained etc.

	Sum of all receipts CVS.
The same accounts in one boat newly made there for the passage aforesaid. xxxiiij s.	Sum xxxiiij s.
The same accounts in deliveries made in the King's Treasury to Master Robert de Belvero Chamberlain of Wales by iij tallies. lxxvj s.	Sum lxxvi s.

Sum of all expenses and deliveries ,,
CXs and thus in surplus V s.

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[1] Pipe Rolls 19 Ed. I.M. 28. 21 Ed. I.M. 25. 29 Ed. I.M. 21.

[2] M.A. 1227/2.

[3] When given in full this reads: "As is contained in a certain indenture dated . . . and remaining in the Exchequer of Caernarvon."

[4] Et de ijs de Passagio forinsecorum extra firmam suam hoc anno."

Adinet Patyn had thus farmed the ferry for 100s. He had received 2s. to which he was not entitled and also a boat valued at 3s. On the other hand, he had paid 34s. for a new boat for the ferry, and had made three payments on account totalling 76s., and shows 5s. to his credit. One would have appreciated some explanation of the 2s. he had received in respect of the passage of strangers, beyond his farm. Had he, perhaps, made some of the monks of Maenan, or their servants, pay for crossing, and been compelled by the Chamberlain to refund?

A further account of the farm of the passage is also copied upon the dorse of Roger de Pulesdon's account. This shows that the ferry had been farmed, during 1291–2, by John de Bosco and William Gifford, at a rent of 8 marks (£5 6s. 8d.).

In 1293, Adinet Patyn is again the farmer and has paid £4 4s. 0d.; but a payment of 16s. in respect of the passage, in 1296, by Agnes "who was the wife of Adinet Patyn," possibly represents arrears of the 1293 farm.[1]

In 1294, Walter de Rothings apparently pays £6 4s. 8d. for the farm of the passage. If this sum represented the ferry rent for the one year only, it was the highest paid prior to Edward IV's reign.[2]

In 1301 we find the Constable of the Castle, William de Cyconniis, spending 2s. 8d. in repairs to the boat, but we have to wait for the bailiffs' accounts for further particulars of the lettings.[3]

At some date prior to 1305, the burgesses petition Prince Edward that they may have their borough and also the passage in fee farm. They get their fee farm Charter, in 1316, but the passage and the foreshore are retained in the King's hands.[4]

During the years 1304–5 and 6 the ferry was farmed each year for 8 marks, or 106s. 8d. One Reginald of the Castle was the farmer in 1306.

In 1307, one of the bailiffs, William de Chalon, held the farm at a rent of 113s. 4d. Twelve oars are bought for the ferry boat at a cost of 4s. and two "spochours" for 4d. One takes the latter to have been poles for propelling the the boat in shallow water, or holding it in position while horses are forced aboard.[5]

In 1309 no rent is received because the ferry had been granted to Henry Farndon. The Letters Patent, executed at Dover on

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[1] Pipe Roll 29 Ed. I, m. 21, pt. 2 and m. 24, pt. 1.

[2] Pipe Roll 29 Edward I, m. 21, pt. 2.

[3] Excheq. K.R. Accts. E. 101 13/32.

[4] *Rec. Caern.*, p. 223 and p. 163.

[5] M.A. 1170/3, 4, and 5.

9th February, "before the crossing of the King into France," in recognition of Henry Farndon's faithful service grant him the passage with all its appurtenances for life, he to maintain it at his own cost.[1]

In 1323, the bailiffs' account for 43s. 10d. in respect of the passage from 6th October, 1322—upon which day Henry Farndon died—until the following Easter; and from Easter to Michaelmas it is farmed to Richard de Haywode for 53s. 4d.[2]

In 1324–5 William Adinet holds the farm at the usual 8 marks, and, in the latter year, we find Robert Power, the Chamberlain, spending £15 3s. 4d. upon two boats, one for Beaumaris and one for Conway. If we may take half this amount to have been spent upon the Conway boat its cost was more than four times greater than that of Adinet Patyn's boat, of thirty-five years earlier. References to the King's barge of the passage, during the following years, suggest that a larger boat than there had hitherto been was now placed upon the ferry.[3]

On 18th January, 1328, Edward III grants "the costody of our barge of our passage of Aberconewey" to Richard le Gayte, for life, with all profits, in the same way as Henry Farndon had held the same.[4]

On 3rd January, 1331, the King grants "the custody of our passage across the water between Conweye and Cannok" free of rent to Philip de Preston "cook to the lord Edward lately King of England our father." Philip de Preston is still in possession at Michaelmas, 1345.[5]

On 22nd May, 1349, by the Prince's Letters to the Chamberlain, the passage is granted, free of rent, to Robert de Plumstoke, barber, who is to "hold the passage in peace all his life in the way in which it had been used of old."[6]

The accounts for the year ending Michaelmas, 1353, show Plumstoke still in possession; but a marginal note records his death on the following 20th February, and states that the passage had been granted to Thomas Benesheph, on 1st March, and that the keepers of the passage are to be charged for the issues between these dates. The keepers of the passage were those in actual occupation, whether as assignees, or tenants, or servants.[7]

[1] M.A. 1170/6 and Pat. Roll 2 Ed. II, pt. 2 m. 27.

[2] M.A. 1212/9 and 10.

[3] M.A. 1212/11 and 12.

[4] Pat. Roll 1 Ed. III, pt. 3, m. 2.

[5] Pat. Roll 4 Ed. III, pt. 2, m. 17, and M.A. 1214/3.

[6] M.A. 1171/7 and 8.

[7] M.A. 1171/10.

Thomas Benesheph, whose grant was dated 1st March, 1354, was to hold the ferry for the term of his life upon the same terms as Plumstoke had held.[1]

Thomas Benesheph's name is still figuring in the accounts as that of the holder of the ferry, when on 16th August, 1382, the town of Conway passes into the hands of Queen Anne, and the accounts come for the time being to an end. His name is still so figuring, in 1396, in the first extant account after Queen Anne's death; but we find that much had happened in connection with the tenure of the ferry during the intervening years.[2]

Alexander de Salbury v. Richard Godynogh

We learn from Caernarvon Plea Roll that at the Sessions for the County held at Caernarvon, in March, 18 Richard II (1395), one Richard Godynogh was attached by a certain Alexander de Salbury, in a plea of trespass.

Alexander de Salbury complains that whereas he was seised of the passage of Conway, with the fees and profits of the said passage, for the term of the life of Thomas Benesheph: "to wit taking of each man crossing alone one farthing of fee, of a man with a horse one halfpenny, of a man and a horse with a load or any burden whatsoever, one penny . . . as accustomed of old to be taken": the said Richard came upon the Monday after Michaelmas, in the twelfth year of the now King, with force and arms "to wit swords bows and arrows," and evicted him from the passage; and had himself taken the fees and profits from the aforesaid Monday up to the present time. He, Salbury, now claims that he has suffered damage to the amount of £40.

Richard Godynogh, in his defence, does not question the grant to Thomas Benesheph; but states that Thomas Benesheph had conveyed his life interest in the ferry to a certain John Scolehall, and that the latter had again conveyed this interest to Henry de Salbury, and that in neither case had the license of the Prince for these alienations of interest been obtained. He adds that, because of these alienations without license, the Queen, after the commote of Isaf had come into her hands, seized the passage and granted the same, by her Letters Patent, to Mathew de Swetenham; and that Mathew de Swetenham had leased the passage to him, Richard Godynogh, for a term of six years.

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[1] M.A. 1171/11.

[2] M.A. 1172/11 and M.A. 1174/8. The Castle and town of Conway, with its commotes, cantreds, etc., and the Manor of Aber, were granted to Queen Anne for life. C.P.R., 1381–5, p. 159.

Alexander de Salbury controverts Richard Godynogh's statement and asserts that Henry de Salbury had paid a fine of five marks to the late Prince and had thereby continued his interest in the passage, which he had held up to the time of his death, after which he, Alexander, as Henry's brother and heir, had entered into possession, and had held the passage until the before-mentioned Monday, when the passage was seized by Richard Godynogh, and not by the Queen.

Richard Godynogh again asseverates that the passage was seized by the Queen; and this would seem to have been the point upon which the action turned. The jury, we read, "by assent of the said parties to this chosen and sworn say on oath that the said Queen did not seize into her hands the aforesaid passage, with the fees and profits of the same, as the aforesaid Richard alleged, and assess the damage which the aforesaid Alexander sustained by reason of the aforesaid trespass at £12."[1]

Alexander de Salbury agrees to accept the £12, and Richard Godynogh is fined 40d. for the trespass, and so the story as told in the Plea Roll ends. We may comment that though Queen Anne came into possession of Conway, in 1382, it is not until 1388 that the passage is seized, which hardly accords with Godynogh's story. On the other hand, though no grant to Mathew de Swetenham has been traced, we find the enrolment of a deed under which he conveys to the Earl of Notyngham, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and others, certain properties in London and Cheshire and also "the profits of passage of one fferrye in Conweye in Wales."[2] This is dated August, 1394, which is after the death of Anne, but more than six months before Alexander de Salbury takes proceedings. We also later find it stated that after Thomas Benesheph's death the King granted the ferry to Mathew de Swetenham for life.

The Roll gives us the pleadings of the two parties and the jury's finding, but does not record the evidence placed before the court. Mathew de Swetenham had apparently received a grant of the ferry from Queen Anne, and it is significant that Alexander de Salbury makes no attempt to secure redress until after her death.

This Plea Roll, of 1395, gives us the earliest statement of the rates of ferriage at any of the North Wales ferries which has been found. It is only incidentally, or in connection with disputes of one kind or another, that any mention of the charges made at the ferries has been met with prior to the nineteenth century; and it is not until 1852 that we find an official schedule of the charges to be levied attached to a lease.

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[1] Caernarvonshire Plea Roll, Wales 20/1.

[2] Close Roll, 18 Rich. II, m. 35d.

Alexander de Salbury does not long retain his recovered interest in the ferry. Thomas Benesheph dies in 1397; and in 1398 Richard Godynogh, who is one of the bailiffs this year, is farming the ferry at the old rate of 106s. 8d.[1]

In 1400 (1 Henry IV) the account returns one Robert de Stretton as holding the ferry at a rent of 40s. only "by demise of Methew de Swetenham who claims to have the said passage by grant of Richard late King for life." This brings us to Glyndŵr's Rebellion and a break of twelve years in the records.[2]

In 1412 the bailiffs state that they do not answer for the 40s. of the passage "thus demised to Robert de Bailton" because of the rebellion. Their account has, however, been amended, and shows that the 40s. has been paid to the Chamberlain.[3]

In 1413 the bailiffs answer for the 40s. of the passage "thus late demised to Robert de Stratton." One is inclinded to conclude that Mathew de Swetenham had survived and maintained his interest in the ferry up to this time.[4]

From Michaelmas, 1413, the ferry is leased to Thomas de Walton and Robert Baylton for sixteen years. The rent is 44s. for the first year, and 48s. for the rest of the term; and the lease is "on condition that all and singular the ministers and officers of the lord King may be passed over with their horses freely and readily without any payment for such passage."[5]

From Michaelmas, 1429, when this lease ends, the Conway and Cavengronant ferries are combined in one letting. It is, therefore, necessary to review the records of the latter ferry up to this date.

2. THE TAL-Y-CAFN FERRY DOWN TO 1429

The precise point at which the Roman road reached the Conway river has not so far been established. Writing in 1802, and referring to the Arw rocks, which lie a short distance to the southward of the ferry, Davies Griffith, of Caerhun, states that "the Romans had here a ford or subaqueous causeway the remains of which are still visible."[6] Mr. Baillie Reynolds, during his recent excavations at Conovium, dug a trench across the modern footpath from Caerhun to Tal-y-cafn, at a point 250 yards from the North gate of the fort. He found road-metalling, and writes : "No one but the Roman is likely to have laid down over three feet of road-metal here, so that it may be confidently stated that this is the Roman road northwards. That it was making for the river crossing at Tal-y-cafn seems probable, but has yet to be proved."[1]

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[1] M.A. 1175/1 and 1175/4.

[2] M.A. 1175/6.

[3] M.A. 1175/9.

[4] M.A. 1175/10.

[5] M.A. 1176/1.

[6] Griffith, *Impartial Thoughts*, p. 57.

Tal-y-cafn is a mile distant from Conovium, and the Arw rocks lie, or lay, in an intermediate position. We are told that there used to be a fall of three feet over these rocks at low water, but that they had been partially cut away in the interests of the navigation prior to 1838.[2] Traces visible in Davies Griffith's day may, therefore, no longer be so ; but the road-metalling is there, and we may hope will shortly receive further attention. Meanwhile, the existence, or otherwise, of a ferry at Tal-y-cafn in Roman times must remain an open question.

No mention of the Tal-y-cafn ferry, prior to the conquest of North Wales by Edward I, appears to be on record. The ferry makes its appearance in the early accounts as the passage of "la Taverne," shortened, towards the close of Edward III's reign, into "Taverne." We may probably attribute this name to the existence of an inn at the crossing, rather than to a corruption of the present name. After Glyndŵr's rebellion, the ferry reappears as the passage of "Caven Gronaunt," and under a variety of spellings this continues to be the official name of the ferry into the seventeenth century. We meet with "Tallcabon," however, in a petition of Henry VIII's reign, which perhaps indicates that the name, in its present form, had been in use locally from fairly early days.

The Sheriffs' accounts of Edward II's reign tell us that no value had been placed upon thepassage of "la Taverne" in the early Extent because it was not until after the Extent was made that it had been appropriated.[3] This does not necessarily mean that there was no boat there in 1284, though, under the circumstances, this may well have been the case ; but, after the appropriation, none but the King's farmer would be permitted to ply there, and the farm of the ferry would form part of the King's revenue.

It is in 1301 that we meet with the first mention of the ferry, in the form of a payment of 20s. for half a year's rent. An expenditure of 5s. upon repairs to the boat by the hand of William de Cyconniis is also shown in this same year.[1]

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[1] *Arch. Camb.*, June, 1930, p. 99–100.

[2] Lewis, *Top. Dict.*

[3] E 199/57/15 "quod non extenditur quia post confeccionem extente apprwyatum fuit."

In 1303, Gruffith ap Res, the Sheriff, returns William de Cyconniis as the farmer of the passage at 53s. 4d. for the year.[2] William de Cyconniis was an influential personage in this district at this time, being Constable of the Castle, Bailiff of Creuddyn and Arllechwedd, and also Woodward of Arllechwedd.[3]

The rent of the ferry continues apparently unchanged throughout Edward II's reign, but, apart from the above mention of William de Cyconniis, no farmer is named. Small expenditures upon the boat recur at intervals, and, in 1326, a new boat is purchased for 50s. and the old boat, "rotten from age," is sold for 2s. 6d.[4]

We find among the Originalia Rolls, of the earlier years of Edward III's reign, brief particulars of a series of grants which comprised the ferry.

On 27th April, 1331, the office of Rhaglaw of Arllechwedd Isaf, the passage of "la Taverne" and the hamlet of Trefriw are granted to John Sturmy for a term of 10 years at the same rent as other holders had paid, plus an increment of 10s.[5]

On 20th February, 1332, the same office and the passage and what is now termed the Manor of Trefriw are committed to "our beloved groom Gilbert Tyrel." He is to "have the custody during our pleasure" paying the same rent as previous holders.[6]

On 10th January, 1334, the custody of the Manor of Trefriw with the mills and the fishery there and the passage and the office of Rhingyll of Arllechwedd Isaf are granted to "our groom William de Pilarton, our pantler," for life, rendering the same as others who had previously held that custody.[7]

On 13th March, 1341, the office of Rhaglaw of Arllechwedd Isaf, and the custody of the passage of "la Taverne," together with the mills in Trefriw and Dolwyddelan and the fishery of Trefriw and the toll which Roger de Kelly, now defunct, had held, are granted to "our beloved groom Hugo le Joignour" for life, on the same terms as they had been held by Roger de Kelly.[8]

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[1] M.A. 1230/2 and Excheq. K.R. Accts. E 101, 13/32.
[2] E 199/57/10.
[3] Pipe Roll, E 372/146.
[4] E 199/57/22.
[5] E 371/90, m. 8.
[6] E 371/91, m. 3.
[7] E 371/92, m. 15.
[8] E 371/100, m. 57.

We find from the Sheriff's Accounts that John Sturmy had farmed the office of Rhaglaw for a year prior to the date of his grant, paying for it £4 13s. 6d. per annum.[1] Gilbert Tyrel is shewn as paying the same farm for the office, in 1333.[2] The other names are not met with. The rent of the passage is returned at 53s. 4d. throughout the years covered by these grants; and, in 1333, we find the boat overhauled by David Saer the carpenter, at the expense of the crown.[3] We are afforded no explanation of the brevity of the tenures of the recipients of these grants. William Adinet, whom we met with at Conway, was Rhingyll of the commote during most of the above years, and it seems probable that all the parties named were burgesses of Conway, or being established there as such.

The rent of the passage of "la Taverne" still stands at 53s. 4d. in the accounts of Richard, Earl of Arundel, the Sheriff in 1347.[4] This is the last Sheriff's account to return these issues and henceforward it is the Rhingyll of Arllechwedd Isaf whose accounts we have to follow.

The earliest extant of these Rhingylls' accounts is that for 1351. It shows that the grants to personal attendants of the King, or Prince, have, for the time being, come to an end, and that local Welshmen are now holding the offices of Rhingyll and Rhaglaw and the passage. The account for this year is rendered jointly by two men, "Griffith ap Atha" and "Roppert ap Gogan," and from 1351 to 1360, "Roppert ap Gogan" and "Griffith ap Gogan" hold the Rhingyll's office more or less alternately. The names of these three, as well as that of "Lli' Gethin," the farmer of the passage, are found among those of the twelve free men of the commote, who constituted the jury for the purposes of the Extent of 1352. All belong to the villa of Castell.

In 1351, Llywelyn Gethin is farming the passage of "la Taverne" for 100s. In 1352, the passage is not farmed. There was no boat there, and the Chamberlain, we are told, could neither find a boat nor anyone to build one. By 1353 a boat has been provided, and Ll' Gethin now pays £8 for the passage and the office of Rhaglaw and continues to farm both, up to 1360, his rent being raised to £8 10s. 0d. in 1358. "La Taverne" is abbreviated to "Taverne" at this time.[1]

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[1] E 199/57/24.

[2] E 199/57/26.

[3] E 199/57/26. David Saer had two helpers assisting him for twenty-two days "ad colligendum Mos et alia facienda." One assumes that moss was used for caulking. Saer received 5s. and the helpers 5s. between them, materials used being separately paid for.

[4] M.A. 1230/9.

After 1360 we have an interval of seventeen years without an account.

In 1377 the Rhaglaw's office is farmed by the Commonalty of the commote for £4 3s. 4d. The Rhingyll, "Benedict ap Ll.," tells us much of what had happened during the preceding years. The ferry had been farmed to some unnamed party for £6 10s. 0d., a higher rent than had hitherto been paid for any of the North Wales ferries. Prince Edward had then granted it, free of rent, to one John Dyghton for life, and after his death to Thomas Tyle, also free of rent and for life. The grant to Thomas Tyle was dated 19th June, 1365, and had been confirmed by Prince Richard, now King, on 25th February, 1377.[2]

In 1382, Thomas Tyle is still in occupation of the passage, when the commote of Arllechwedd Isaf passes, with the Castle and town of Conway, into the hands of Queen Anne.[3]

In 1396 the commote reappears, and the Rhingyll's account is rendered jointly by Griffith ap David ap Cadogan and William Godynogh. They state that they do not answer for the passage of Taverne, which was wont to be farmed for £6 10s. 0d., because David Holbache occupies the passage since Thomas Tyle's death, but by what title the said David occupies they know not. A note in the margin of the account states that the passage should be seized; but David Holbache is still in possession in 1398, our last mention of the ferry prior to Glyndwr's rebellion.[4]

No accounts for the commotes of Isaf or Nant Conway for the later years of Henry IV's reign have been met with. They reappear, once more, with Henry V, but we find no mention of our ferry. The effects of the rebellion are much in evidence. The mills are let for terms of years, at low rents, subject to being rebuilt by the tenants, and weirs are similarly treated. The office of Rhaglaw of Isaf is farmed in 1418, for 11s. 8d., as compared with from £4 to £5 during Edward III's reign; and the office of Rhingyll for 8s. 4d. as compared with 70s.[5] Generally speaking, the issues are being farmed for fairly substantial rents by the end of Henry V's reign; but, it is not until the second year of Henry VI that the ferry once more makes its appearance, and we find it no longer in the Isaf account, but in that of Nant Conway.

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[1] M.A. 1171/7 to M.A. 1172/4, and *Rec. Caern.*, p. 3.

[2] M.A. 1172/6.

[3] M.A. 1172/11.

[4] M.A. 1174/8 and 1175/4. Holbache is also spelt Holbeche in these accounts. For Dafydd Holbach, see Lloyd, *Glendower*, p. 139.

[5] M.A. 1176/5.

For the year ending Michaelmas, 1423, Robert Baildon, whom we have come across at Conway, is Rhingyll of Nant Conway; and he answers in his account for "£4 of the farm of the passage of Kaven Gronaunt thus demised to Ievan ap Hoell Coitmore, for the term of four years this year the first."[1]

One would have expected to find the Rhingyll of Isaf giving some reason for his failure to answer for an issue which had always figured in the Isaf accounts in earlier days. He does not do so, however, and all mention of the ferry had disappeared from his account. We may note that the Abermenai ferry disappears in a similar way from the accounts of the Rhingyll of Menai, following a combined grant of Porthaethwy and Abermenai, by Henry VI, in 1437; and though no such lease has been traced, the possibility that the Cafn Gronant ferry had been included in some lease with other properties, prior to 1423, must not be ruled out.

From Michaelmas, 1426, the passage is leased for twenty years to one John Ashfield at a rent of £4 10s. 0d.;[2] but, after a gap of two years in the accounts, we find in 1432, that the Rhingyll of Nant Conway no longer answers "for the farm of the passage of the water of Caven-gronant," for which he now refers us to the Bailiffs of Conway.[3]

3. THE CONWAY AND TAL-Y-CAFN FERRIES

1429–1509

From Michaelmas, 1429, the passages of "Coneway & Cavengronant" are demised to Edward Leghton for 20 years at a rent of £7 8s. 4d. This would mean that, unless Ashfield's lease had, for some reason, been terminated, he would pay his rent of £4 10s. 0d. for Cafn Gronant, to Leghton, for the remainder of his term.[4]

On 10th July, 1446, by Letters of King Henry VI, dated at Caernarvon, the two ferries are granted to Richard Prouffit, Serjeant of the Royal College of St. Mary of Eton, to hold by him, or his sufficient deputy, for life, without rendering anything to the King.[5]

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[1] M.A. 1177/2.
[2] M.A. 1178/1.
[3] M.A. 1178/4.
[4] M.A. 1178/4.
[5] M.A. 1179/1.

In 1453 and 1454 the ferries are held by Bartholomew Bolde at a rent of £7; and for the three years, 1458–1460, Richard Molyneux holds them at a rent of £7 6s. 8d., by grant of the Prince.[1]

In 1461 we find that our two ferries, as also the vill of Penlassok, have been included in a large farm of royal issues in North Caernarvonshire and Anglesey, referred to under the title "Farm of Aberfrowe." The total rent is £130, and the holder of the farm is Robert Bolde, in 1461, and John Moyle, in 1464.[2]

In 1465, the two ferries and Penlassok are demised to Henry Bolde, Knt., at a rent of £9 1s. 6d.; while John Moyle holds the remainder of the "Farm of Aberfrowe" at a rent of £120. Henry Bolde holds his farm till Michaelmas, 1472. In the following year, Penlassok is leased to Richard Giffyn (or Kiffyn), Clerk; while Henry Bolde still retains the ferries at a rent of £7 2s. 0d.[3]

In 1474 the ferries for some reason are not demised, but are held by the occupier, "Gr. ap John," as an "approver." He pays a rent of £10 of which £7 13s. 4d. is credited to Conway and £2 6s. 8d. to Cafn Gronant. These figures, if correct, indicate a great change in the respective values of the two ferries since 1428, when the Conway rent was £2 8s. 0d. and that of Cafn Gronant £4 10s. 0d.[4]

In 1475 the two ferries are demised, for the only time in their history, to the Commonalty of Conway, by pledge of four of the burgesses. The lease is for a term of ten years and the rent is £8.[5]

On 5th January, 1484 (1 Richard III), by Letters Patent under the seal of the Exchequer of Caernarvon, the vill of Penlassok at a rent of £2 19s. 2d. and "the passages or ferries of Connewey and Cavengronant" at a rent of £7 6s. 8d. are granted to David

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[1] M.A. 1179/3–1180/1.

[2] M.A. 1180/3 and 4. Particulars of the "Farm of Aberfrowe" are given under Abermenai.

[3] M.A. 1180/5–1181/4.

[4] M.A. 1181/5.

[5] M.A. 1181/6. In Williams, *Aberconwy*, p. 43, there is a petition from the burgesses in which they pray, *inter alia*, that they may have "In ffee ffearme the passage of the ferries of Conwey and Cavyn gronant." He dates the petition "in the commencement of Henry VII's reign, if not earlier." The petition, however, seems to make reference to Henry VII's charter of 1507, and would, therefore, be of a later date than the above lease.

Vaghan, groom of the cellar to the King, for a term of twenty years.[1]

On 24th September, 1485 (1 Henry VII), by Letters Patent under the seal of the Exchequer of Caernarvon, the vill of Penlassok and the farm of the passage of the boats called "le Feribotes de Connewey et Cavengronant a Redidraynen usque villam de Gogard," are granted, in consideration of faithful service, to Richard Peeke for life at a rent of £4 per annum. The account, which furnishes this information, has had added to it, between the lines, a note that this grant has been cancelled by an Act of Resumption in the Parliament of the King, at Westminster, on the 7th day of November, of this same year.

Despite the cancellation of his grant, Peeke continues to hold Penlassok and the ferries, at the rent of £4, up to 1st March, 1491, upon which date they are placed, by the Prince's Council, in the custody of Richard Pole, Knt., Constable of the Castle, "for the greater advantage of the lord Prince." Peeke, however, is not left uncompensated. Edmund Bulkeley is at this time farming the vill of Aberffraw at a rent of £24, and for the year ending Michaelmas, 1491, he claims an allowance, off his rent, of £6 2s. 2d., which he represents as being the proportion from 1st March to 29th September, of an annuity of £10 per annum granted to Richard Peeke. He recites the grant of Penlassok and the ferries, which Peeke has surrendered; and also, a grant by Prince Arthur, on 1st March of this year, of this annuity to Peeke, chargeable upon the township of Aberffraw.[2]

The grant to Peeke being thus eliminated, the policy is now adopted of securing the full letting value of the ferries for the Prince. After 1491 there is a gap of four years in the accounts; but from Michaelmas, 1495, to Michaelmas, 1503, one Robert Sotehill holds the two ferries, at a rent of £13 6s. 8d.; while Penlassok is separately leased to Nicholas Flynt, for £2 17s. 0d.[3]

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[1] M.A. 1181/8. The word "feria," as meaning ferry, is first met with in these accounts in the grant to Richard Prouffit; and the two words, generally in the form "passages and ferries," appear in combination, in the subsequent accounts, up to 1484. Sometimes there is a certain difference of meaning between the two words, as in Mathew de Swetenham's conveyance of 1394 (v.p. 18), and in the petition of the Conway burgesses quoted by Williams; but, more frequently, no such difference seems to exist. Thus, the farmer is now referred to as "Firmarius passagiorum et feriarum de Connewey et Cavengronant."

[2] M.A. Hen. VII, Nos. 1634–6 Caernarvon and No. 1618 Anglesey. The new title for the ferries, which makes its appearance in the account at the commencement of Henry VII's reign, is continued, with certain variations, into James I's reign. Further reference will be made to it.

[3] M.A. Henry VII, Nos. 1638–9 Caernarvon.

In 1504 the Bailiffs, of whom Richard Peeke is now one, tell us that the two ferries have been leased for twenty years, from the previous Michaelmas, to one Morgan Holand, at an annual rent of £20. There are two boats—one only on each ferry, apparently—and £8 is to be allowed off the first year's rent towards their repair. They are subsequently to be maintained by Morgan Holand, and are to be worth £10 at the end of the term, or, alternatively, the lessee is to answer to the lord King and his heirs, Princes of Wales, in the sum of £10.[1]

4. THE LLANFAES FERRY

It is hardly possible to deal with the Llanfaes ferry without some reference to the town, and the port, and without some attempt to define their positions.

Sir John Lloyd speaks of Llanfaes as the court and royal manor of Dindaethwy, and as one of the royal residences of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth; and of its church as the most valuable in the deanery, in 1254. He also tells us that the last Llywelyn made Llanfaes a place of considerable importance, and that Llanfaes ships were found trading as far away as Liverpool.[2] Seebohm prints the Extent of 1294, in which the town and port of Llanfaes figure prominently, but are of too modern a character to claim his attention,[3] while Llanfaes ended its days too soon to receive more than passing mention by Professor Lewis.[4]

The authorities here followed, when not otherwise stated, are the Extent of Anglesey, of 1294,[3] and the Accounts of three Anglesey Sheriffs: that of Roger de Pulesdon, for the year ending Michaelmas, 1292, that of Walter de Winton, for the year ending Michaelmas, 1302, and that of Henry de Dynyton, for the year ending Michaelmas, 1303.[5]

In the years 1292 and 1294, Llanfaes figures as the commercial centre and port of Anglesey. There is, at this time, no mention of any royal or manor residence, though possibly the buildings of the court, upon the maintenance of which Roger de Pulesdon incurs expenditure, may have been those of the old "Llys" now serving as the court-house and centre of administration of the commote.[1] We hear of "the garden of the Manor" which may well have been a relic of earlier days; but, in 1294, the demesne lands and the garden of the Manor are included with the town, the mills, the port and the ferry, in the Extent of the township of Llanfaes.

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[1] M.A. Hen. VII, Caernarvon 1640.

[2] Lloyd, *Hist. Wales,* Vol. I, p. 232, and Vol. II, p. 686; R.C.A.M. *Anglesey*, p. xxxviii.

[3] Seebohm, *Tribal System*, App. Aa.

[4] Lewis, *Boroughs*.

[5] M.A. 1227/1, 2, 3, and 4.

The town itself, with its burgages, places, crofts and lands, covered by the rent of £8 8s. 5¾d., occupied an area of 86½ acres and 12½ perches according to the measures of the time,[2] and we have references to its market place and bakehouse, its butchers, bakers, shoemakers, and many brewers. No other fairs or markets in Anglesey except those at Llanfaes are mentioned in Roger de Pulesdon's Account, or in the Extent; and on the three days of the Llanfaes fair, the Porthaethwy ferry and the Bishop's ferry were in the hands of the Crown, and their issues accounted for by the Sheriff. The port of Llanfaes, again, is the only port in Anglesey from which any revenue is received by Roger de Pulesdon. The Extent mentions Dulas also; but whereas, among other customs of the port of Llanfaes, it is estimated that eighty vessels will pay the fourpenny kiltol annually, twenty pence is the total revenue looked for from Dulas.

Lewis Morris assumed that Llanfaes was the old name of Beaumaris;[3] and Professor Lewis states that the castle and town of Beaumaris were founded "on the site of the old town of Llanvaes," but also tells us that a considerable portion of the neighbouring vill of Cerrigygwyddyl was appropriated for the same purpose.[4]

We venture to submit that the old town of Llanfaes occupied an entirely different site from that upon which the town of Beaumaris was founded. The town of Beaumaris lies outside of the parish of Llanfaes, and we have evidence that it did so lie at the commencement of the fourteenth century. We have a record, of the year 1318, which tells that Edward I, after Madoc's rebellion, destroyed the Manor and villa of Llanfaes "which were within the limits of the parish of the church of Lanmas," and that he caused the men of the said manor and villa to be transferred to Rhosyr and Beaumaris "which are beyond those limits."[5] We also find the burgesses of Beaumaris petitioning Edward II that they may have a chapel of their own, and stating that their parish church is distant two leagues or more, by water, and that they cannot go to it when the weather is stormy.[1] One must assume that the parish church referred to is that of Llandegfan, and would have welcomed a little further information as to the route by which it was reached. It was clearly not Llanfaes.

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[1] Seebohm holds that the palace at Aberffraw served such a purpose at this time; *Tribal System*, p. 12.

[2] See p. 22.

[3] *Celtic Remains*, p. 264 (*Arch. Camb.* Supplement, 1878).

[4] Lewis, *Boroughs*, p. 227 and p. 49.

[5] Chancery Miscellaneous Inquisitions. File 79, No. 12.

Parish boundaries come down from a remote past, and it is probable that the southern boundary of the parish of Llanfaes was the boundary, also, of the old manor and township. The towns of Beaumaris and Llanfaes were, in any case, upon different sides of this boundary ; and the fact that they coexisted for some seven years suggests that they were not in very immediate proximity to each other.

Turning now to the port of Llanfaes, we find evidence that this did not become the port of Beaumaris. At some time following Madoc's rebellion, as the result of which the burgesses of Llanfaes had been deprived of their trading and other privileges, we find them addressing a petition to Edward I. In this they enumerate the many and grievous hardships under which they are living, and among these we find the plaint, not that they have been deprived of their port, but "that no ship may call at the port of their town."[2] Again, in 1303, the Sheriff in explaining his failure to account for the various customs of the port of Llanfaes, states : "because no ship called there this year but all at Beaumaris." Friars Bay provides a good anchorage and a clear beach upon which vessels may lie to load or discharge, and appears to be indicated as the port of Llanfaes. Lewis Morris' sailing directions, of 1748, written before the construction of the road from Beaumaris along the shore of Friars Bay, might probably have served equally well in 1292. "When you open the Lane by Fryer's House, you may anchor in six Fathom, a stiff clay ground, or lie ashore on soft Mud."[3]

The town, apparently, stood a little way back from the port. A toll upon wine and beer, landed at the port, covered carriage as far as to the town at the King's charge. The ferry is also referred to as the ferry of the port of Llanfaes, and the arrangements for its working suggest a certain remoteness from the town. If we could assume that Henllys occupied the site of the old court and royal residence, one might carry the location of the town a step further, as in 1302 and 1303 certain of the crofts are described as "next the court," or "next the garden of the Manor." We may, however, with some reason, locate the town as inland of the House of the Friars, and in the vicinity of its church of St. Katherine.

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[1] Ancient Petitions. File 280, No. 13991.

[2] Lewis, *Boroughs*, App., p. 295.

[3] Morris, *Harbours*.

Passing now to the ferry, we find that there was a certain land of the ferry of the port of Llanfaes, upon which were situated the burgages of the ferrymen.

Roger de Pulesdon, in 1292, allows the £8 8s. 5¾d. of the rents of the town, to cover "the farm of certain burgages and land of the ferry of the port" ; and he includes among his expenditures, "the wages of the sailors serving the passage." When we come to the Extent, of 1294, however, we find that though the rent of £8 8s. 5¾d. may have covered the burgages of the ferrymen, it did not include the land. The item dealing with the latter now reads as follows : "From five ferrymen of the port who have to work the ferry in the King's boat at their own charges for one carucate and two bovates of land which they hold 15s. 8d." The purpose of the Extent was to provide an official record of the rents and services due to the King, on the basis of those previously rendered to Llywelyn.[1] We may, therefore, assume that the inquiry held at Llanfaes, in connection with the Extent, had established that this land had been held by the ferrymen, at a certain rent, but that its occupation had carried with it the obligation of working the ferry without pay, in a boat provided by the Prince.

We may assume that the Llanfaes ferry, like the Beaumaris ferry in later years, was only operated during the three or four hours around low water, during which passengers could cross the sands. It was doubtless the fact that the ferrymen's job was but a part-time one, and that the ferry was somewhat remote from the town, which led to this arrangement. The ferrymen were given land near the ferry, so that they might be profitably employed, and at the same time be at hand when their services were required.

There is nothing in the records to indicate the precise position of the ferry. It remains in the hands of the Sheriff and figures as the Llanfaes ferry up to Michaelmas, 1302, when it passes into the hands of the Constable of the Castle and becomes the Beaumaris ferry. It had, doubtless, as the Llanfaes ferry, worked from the position most convenient for crossing to the sands, and it is unlikely that its transference to Beaumaris would lead to any change in this position. We can identify the "feryman warth" of early Beaumaris with the present "Green," and we may well assume that it was from here that the Llanfaes ferry operated.

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[1] Seebohm, *Tribal System*, Chapter I.

In Roger de Pulesdon's day then, if we have the topography aright, the town of Llanfaes lay inland of the House of the Friars and in the vicinity of its church of St. Katherine. Its port was Friars Bay, and its ferry worked from what is now the Beaumaris Green. The greater part of the Green (so much as lies in the parish of Llanfaes) and a considerable extent of land to the north of it, we take to have been the land of the ferry; and we may well hold the burgages of the ferrymen to have been placed upon the high ground, of late called The Mount, overlooking the sands towards Aber.

In 1292, Roger de Pulesdon accounts for £5 6s. 3d. in respect of the issues of the passage, and, as we have seen, pays the sailors serving the passage. The Extent, in 1294, places a value of £12 upon the ferry. Here, again, the remuneration of the ferrymen is otherwise provided for, so that the £12 is meant to represent the year's takings at the ferry, or the sum for which these takings could be farmed. Whether this estimate was based upon information regarding earlier years, or merely represented an optimistic view as to the future, we have nothing to show.

In the autumn of 1294, only some five months after the date of the Extent, Madoc's rebellion breaks out, and the burgesses of Llanvaes, with one or two exceptions, are involved. Edward I is said to have reached Llanvaes with his troops, in the following April;[1] and we are told that he "wholly destroyed the manor and town."[2] The burgesses are now deprived of the liberties which they had enjoyed under the charters of their Princes and which had earlier been confirmed to them by Edward I.[3] Already, for the year ending Michaelmas, 1295, William de Felton, the Constable of the Castle, now building, answers for £11 7s. 1d. in respect of the farm of the town. The amount rises to £12 in the following year;[1] but we have to wait for the next extant Sheriff's Account, that for the year 1302, for any particulars. We then find that the town rents, and the pleas and perquisites of the courts, had been the main items farmed; but that a certain amount had also been received from the tax on brewing. For the rest, De Winton states that "the customs of ships, herrings, shoemakers, tolls of fairs, issues of the bakehouse, tolls of pigs, horses, hides and carts, not answered for here because the whole now drawn at Beaumaris." In the following year the Sheriff shows a small receipt from the custom of herrings. He explains a drop in the yield of the brewing tax from the 60s. of the Extent to 25s., with the remark "because there are not now so many brewers as there used to be," and he tells us that the bakehouse was "thrown down in the time of the King because not to be used." These two accounts indicate the severity of the treatment meted out to the burgesses by Edward I, following Madoc's rebellion; and also seem to establish that the majority of the inhabitants still remained at Llanfaes, up to Michaelmas, 1303.

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[1] Morris, *Welsh Wars*, p. 263.

[2] Chancery Miscellaneous Inquisitions. File 79, No. 12. Also Close Roll 136 (12 Ed. II), m. 8.

Several greatly varying accounts of the "burning and destruction," at Llanfaes, have been published in past years. The story as told in the above records is clear and explicit. The manor and town were destroyed by Edward I, and the parishioners transferred elsewhere. As a result the church of Llanfaes is greatly impoverished; but Gregory, the parson, is still, in 1318, being taxed as in earlier times. A petition is now sent to Edwards II on his behalf; and, on the King's instructions, an inquisition is held before Roger de Mortuo Mari, Justice of Wales, and a jury of six Englishmen and six Welshmen. Upon their report the relief petitioned for is granted. There is no question of any burning of the Llanfaes Church, and the Friary is not mentioned.

[3] *Vide* their petition to Ed. I printed in Lewis, *Boroughs*, p. 295.

When we come to 1302, the ferry is working before the walls of the Castle, and in close proximity to the new town of Beaumaris. It is still the Llanfaes ferry, and under the Sheriff's charge. He accounts for £4 5s. 2d. from its issues but leaves us in some doubt as to the position regarding the ferrymen. He shows a receipt of "10s. 8d. from the farm of the burgages and lands of the ferrymen," but on the other side of his account has the entry "in decay of the burgages and lands of the ferrymen 10s. 8d." He makes no payment for the working of the ferry, and one is inclined to conclude that though the ferry still remained in the Sheriff's hands and was still worked by the Llanfaes ferrymen, the land of the ferry, upon which the ferrymen's burgages were situated, had already been transferred to the Castle and town of Beaumaris. In this case, the Sheriff would collect the rents from the ferrymen and pay them over to the Constable of the Castle, or to the Bailiffs.

In a Bundle of Ministers' Accounts, consisting mainly of Bailiffs' Accounts, has been found an Account of an Anglesey Sheriff for a half-year ending at Michaelmas. The heading and earlier portion of the Account is wanting, but the Account can only relate to the second half of 1300, or of 1301.[2] The

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[1] E. 372, 146 m. 24. (Pipe Roll, 29 Ed. I.) (Chamberlain's receipts for 23rd and 24th years Ed. I.)

[2] M.A. 1170/18. The commote of Menai, which was accounted for among the lands of Eleanor in Anglesey and Snowdon, up to Easter, 1300, figures in this Account.

Llanfaes receipts are missing but we find the entry concerning the decay of the burgages and lands of the ferrymen, the amount being returned as 5s. 4d., i.e. half the sum returned for the year 1302. We may, therefore, conclude that the position, in respect of the land of the ferry, had probably been the same for some years.

Preparatory, perhaps, to the transference of the ferry to the Constable of the Castle, the ferryboat is given an extensive overhaul in 1302. Ropes are purchased from David ap Eynon (late of Llanfaes, but now a prominent burgess of Beaumaris), and also from Willack and Thomas de Hibernia. Eleven oars are purchased at 2½d. apiece, and 300 "nails of spiking" at 3d. per 100. Several planks are also bought, and Iorwerth, the carpenter, and Madoc, his assistant, are employed for five days, receiving 4d. and 2d. per day respectively; while Roger the, smith, makes large nails called "Roff nails" and other ironwork and repairs the anchor, for 2s. 6d. With tallow and pitch for smearing the boat, the total expenditure amounts to 31s. 10½d.

In 1303, De Dynyton receives nothing from the Llanfaes ferry which he returns, without remark, as entirely in decay. He also returns as wholly in decay the 15s. 8d. "of the extent of one carucate and two bovates of land which five ferrymen held," but adds "which were delivered to the free burgesses aforesaid (i.e. of Beaumaris) and to the demesne of the Castle aforesaid." The ferry thus ceases to be the Llanfaes ferry and becomes the Beaumaris ferry, at Michaelmas, 1302.

THE DATE OF THE TRANSFERENCE FROM LLANFAES TO NEWBOROUGH

As this date does not seem to have received attention, and is stated in a footnote in the *Mediaeval Boroughs of Snowdonia* (p. 52) to have been before 1302, it is perhaps worth noting that besides the Llanfaes Accounts (above referred to) there are other records which all appear to agree in fixing the date at Michaelmas, 1303.

1. For the year ending Michaelmas, 1302, De Winton shows no decay of the manor of "Rhosfeir" for the purpose of providing land for the new borough.
2. 3rd May, 1303 (31 Ed. I), is the date of the original Charter of "Neuburgh." (*Rec. Caern.*, p. 178.)
3. For the year ending Michaelmas, 1303, De Dynyton shows a decay of 52s. 10d. in respect of 90½ acres and 12½ perches of land of the Manor of "Rosfeyr" delivered to the burgesses of Newborough (Novi Burgi) in compensation for that which before they held "in Lammays." Four

acres out of the above "are contained in the King's way." It must be remembered that this account would be made out some time after Michaelmas, 1303. It shows that the lands had been set apart and that the earlier rents had not been received for this year.

4. For the year ending Michaelmas, 1304, Philip Goch and David ap Thom, Bailiffs of the town of "Newborugh" render their account "from Saturday next after the feast of saint Michael" in the third year of Prince Edward until the same feast in the fourth year.
   "They answer for £8 8s. 5¾d. received of the rents of assize of Burgages and lands which contain 86 acres and a half and 12 perches and a half of land which was delivered to the Burgesses of Newborough (de Novo Burgo) this year in compensation for the Burgages and lands which the said Burgesses before held at Lammas of the aforesaid measure." (M.A. 117013.)
5. The Sheriffs account for the issues of the Boroughs "by the hands of the Bailiffs." De Winton, for some reason, does not account for the issues of Beaumaris, in 1302. De Dynyton, in 1303, accounts for the issues of Beaumaris for that, and for the preceding year.
   For the year ending Michaelmas, 1304, De Dynyton accounts for the issues of Beaumaris and of Newborough ("Novi Burgi" and "Neuburgh"; both figure in this entry).
6. *Tolls of the Fairs and Market.*
   Hugh de Leominster's Accounts of the lands "which were Eleanor's queen of England," gives us the tolls of the fairs and of the market of the manor of "Rosfeyr," from Michaelmas, 1296, up to Easter, 1300. The "tolls of the fair" range from £1 14s. 4½d. in the first of these years, to £1 11s. 4d. in the last, while the "tolls of the market" were, apparently, farmed for 10s. each year.[1]
   The Manor appears to have been transferred to the custody of the Sheriff, at Easter, 1300. For the year ending Michaelmas, 1302, De Winton accounts for "the farm of the toll of beer & mead, 100s." and for "the farm of the toll of hides with the farm of the toll of the fair, 60s." Total, £8. In the following year, De Dynyton accounts for "£8 of the farm of the tolls of beer and mead hides and other merchandizes sold in the market of Rosfeir by the hand of Roger of Rosfeir the farmer."

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[1] E.352 (Chancellor's Roll), No. 94, m. 22d.

> For the year ending Michaelmas, 1304, no tolls are accounted for in the manor; but the Bailiffs of Newborough now answer for "41s. 6¼d. received from the toll of the Fair at the feast of St. Martin," and for "59s. 3½d. from the toll of the Market." Total, £5 0s. 9¾d. In the following year they have an additional fair "at the feast of the Apostles Peter and Paul"; and the tolls of the two fairs now amount to £4 4s. 9½d., while the toll of the market is returned at £2 2s. 1¼d., making a total of £6 6s. 10¾d.
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> The great increase in the tolls taken in the manor, in 1302 and 1303, together with the wording of the entries, suggests that some of the brewers and merchants of Llanfaes had been allowed, during these latter years, to carry on their trade in the manor of Rhosyr; and the diminution in the amount of the tolls after the transference of the fairs and markets to Newborough, may, perhaps, be explained by the freedom from toll which these brewers and merchants would now personally enjoy as burgesses of Newborough.

All these records agree in indicating that the ex-burgesses of Llanfaes were re-established as burgesses of Newborough, at Michaelmas, 1303.

A further point, upon which these records appear to have a distinct bearing, may be noted. Among the petitions from the men of North Wales, exhibited to the Prince and his Council at Kenynton, in 1305, are several from the burgesses of Newborough. In one of these they ask that the charter of their liberties may be renewed, and that the name "Rosfeir" may be changed and the name "Neuburgh" borne.[1] From this it has been assumed that, up to 1305, the town had borne no distinctive name other than that of the manor within which it was situated.[2] The Charter of 1303, the Sheriff's Accounts for 1303 and 1304, and the Bailiff's Accounts for the latter year, on the other hand, appear to show quite definitely that the name Newborough, or "Neuburgh," was borne from the very first.

There are approximately one hundred and fifty of these petitions, each with its answer. It is hardly conceivable that they were all received and dealt with at one time. It seems reasonable to conclude that what happened in the time of the Parliament of 1305, was that a complete list of the petitions received by the Prince and his Council, prior to that time, with the answer given to each, received official confirmation and was forwarded to the Justice for the purpose stated. The petition mentioned above, though referred to in 1305 as from the burgesses of Newborough, would seem to have been sent at the time when the transference to "Rosfeir" was being arranged, and the charter for the renewal of which they ask, would be that referred to in their earlier petition to Edward I, of which they had been deprived following Madoc's rebellion. The answer to the petition is "that the charter may be renewed and the name Neuburgh borne." This was surely precedent to the granting of the Charter of "Neuburgh" of 3rd May, 1303.

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[1] *Rec. Caern.*, p. 212 and 220.

[2] Lewis, *Boroughs*, p. 40.

5. THE BEAUMARIS FERRY, DOWN TO 1509

We are told by the Chamberlain that John de Neuburgh, the Constable of the Castle, had been responsible for the farm of the ferry, during 1303 and 1304, but had not accounted for it.[1]

In 1305 the ferry was farmed for 40s. to one Robert Lengleys. The boat was lost during the year, and Langleys is allowed 20s. off his rent by order of the Justice, who also authorises the purchase of another boat, for 33s. 4d., from Howel ap Blethin.[2]

In 1306 the ferry is once more farmed for 40s., but the boat is again lost before the year is out; and from Michaelmas, 1306, the ferry is farmed to the burgesses for 30s. upon the condition that they are themselves to provide a suitable boat.[3] The Bailiffs account for this 30s. during the next nineteen years; but, at the end of this time, we find that the responsibility for providing the boat rests once more with the King.

In 1325 the Bailiffs account for 5s. 4d. only. The boat, they state, had been unfit for service since Easter. It was rotten from age and no one would farm it.[4] Representations had evidently been made in the proper quarter, as the result of which orders had been sent, on 6th July, to Robert Power, the Chamberlain. From these we learn that the King had been given to understand that his boat of his town of Beaumaris was so old and broken that it could no longer serve the passage, and that the men of the town, who had been answering to the Exchequer of Caernarvon for 30s. annually in respect of the profits of the passage, could no longer do so, unless another boat was provided for them. Robert Power is, therefore, to inspect the boat, and if it can be satisfactorily repaired, this is to be done at the expense of the bailiwick; but if, on account of age, the boat is beyond repair, then he is to have another boat, suitable for the passage, built at the King's expense.[1]

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[1] M.A. 1211/1.

[2] M.A. 1211/2.

[3] M.A. 1170/5.

[4] M.A. 1212/12.

The position at Beaumaris, in 1325, is thus clearly defined. The King provides the boat and the burgesses maintain it until by reason of age it can no longer be rendered serviceable. They are, also, to pay 30s. annually in respect of the profits of the passage.

Robert Power received precisely similar instructions regarding the Conway boat, and lost no time in giving effect to them. His account for this year, ending Michaelmas, 1325, shows an expenditure of £15 3s. 4d. "in two boats bought for the passage of the water of Conway and of Beaumaris."[2] The price paid is extraordinarily high. The Sheriff of Anglesey provides and equips a new boat at Porthaethwy, this same year, for £3 3s. 0d.[3] The Conway boat is referred to, during the following years, as the King's barge of the passage; and we must assume that Robert Power took the opportunity to place larger and better boats than there had hitherto been at both places.

The 30s. appears to have been regularly paid during the next twenty-five years. No mention of any replacement of the boat has been met with; but several years are unaccounted for.

In 1351 the Bailiffs answer for 20s. only. "More could not be got as they say on oath." They also charge 10s. for a cable and two ropes, which one is inclined to put down to moorings, for the safety of the King's boat, as expenditures on maintenance are not being charged. Only 20s. is accounted for in the following year, also;[4] but when we come to 1353 we meet with a new arrangement. The passage "which was wont to be demised for 30s.," the customs of the port, the tolls of markets and fairs, and the pleas and perquisites of the Courts, are all combined in one lease to the burgesses, for four years, at an inclusive rent of £5 13s. 4d.[5]

1357 the several issues are once more separately accounted for, and the profits of the ferry are now returned at 16s. only, "more could not be had."[6] The authorities appear to have put this claim to the test, with the result that from Michaelmas, 1357, the ferry is leased to one "Gron' Brôn," for a term of four years, at 26s. 8d.[1] In the next year, however, the combined issues are once more leased to the burgesses, this time at a rent of £6 13s. 4d., and for a term of ten years.[2] "Gron' Brôn" would doubtless pay his rent into the town chest during the last three years of his lease.

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[1] Close Roll, 142 (18 Ed. II), m. 1.

[2] M.A. 1212/12.

[3] M.A. 1228/8.

[4] M.A. 1149/1 and 2.

[5] M.A. 1149/3.

[6] M.A. 1149/7.

From 1364 to 1376 there is a gap in the accounts. But the rent is still £6 13s. 4d. up to 1381, after which it falls to £5.[3]

Attention may be called to the fact that throughout the period of these combined lettings, as also when the ferry is farmed for 20s. or 16s., we always find inserted in the ferry entry, in the accounts, some such words as "was wont to be demised for 30s." This was in accordance with the practice followed in the Ministers' Accounts, over a long period, and was meant to serve as a standing reminder of what was officially regarded as the rent which ought to be paid.

We learn in 1385 that the Beaumaris ferry-boat had been lost, on 20th July, 1380, and that no new boat had been provided until Michaelmas of that year. We are told, also, that this new boat had, in its turn, been lost immediately after Michaelmas, 1381. The burgesses had not, up to this time, received any recognition of the financial loss which they claimed to have sustained through these disasters; but, at some time during 1384, an inquisition had been held by the auditor, with the following results. In the first place, the burgesses are allowed 5s. 11d. in respect of the loss of the boat, in 1380, this being the sum held to be due in respect of the period between 20th July and 29th September, at the rate of 30s. per annum. Secondly, the burgesses are to be henceforward exonerated of the payment of 30s. per annum, on the condition that they provide their own boat.[4]

It is worth while reviewing the terms upon which the burgesses have so far held the ferry. It was farmed for 40s. in 1305 and 1306. It was then leased to the burgesses at a rent of 30s., upon the condition that they were themselves to supply the boat. Twenty years later the rent is still 30s., but the King supplies the boat. Finally, the position is that the 30s. is the rent of the King's boat and nothing more. The King now ceases to provide the boat and the Bailiffs deduct 30s. from the rent of the combined farm.

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[1] M.A. 1149/8. The surname would rather appear to have been "Broun." There was a family of this name at Beaumaris.

[2] M.A. 1149/9.

[3] M.A. 1150/8.

[4] M.A. 1151/1 and 2.

The accounts for the next ten years show the Bailiffs answering for the rent of £5 for the passage, the customs of the port, the tolls of markets and fairs, and the pleas and perquisites of the courts; and then exonerating themselves of 30s. in respect of the passage, thus reducing the rent, paid for the combined farm, to £3 10s. 0d.[1] We may note that the community of Newborough which has no port, is paying £15 for the tolls of its markets and fairs, and the pleas and perquisites of its courts, together with the passage of Abermenai, in 1385; and had paid £20 for the same issues, in 1378.[2]

For the year commencing Michaelmas, 1396, the various Ministers of the County of Anglesey render accounts up to the following 22nd February only. Upon this date, 22nd February, 1397, King Richard II granted the whole county and lordship of Anglesey, with the castle of Beaumaris, the commotes, manors, fee-farm rents, services, fairs, markets, passages, franchises, etc., to William Lescrop (William le Scrope) for life,[3] and we meet with no more accounts until after Glyndŵr's rebellion.

We have so far learned nothing about the ferry except as to the terms upon which it was held and as to occasional losses of the boats and the cost of their replacement. One or two other records of the fourteenth century, with some bearing upon the ferry, may perhaps be mentioned here.

We read in the Extent of Caernarvonshire, of 1352, that the Prince's natives of Castell, Eriannus and Morva, do the carriage of the lord Prince at Trefriw, Aber, and as far as the water of the town of Beaumaris, taking per day, for one man and one horse 2d.[4] Again, in the Extent of Anglesey, of the same year, we are told that the villeins of Din Sylwy do the carriage of the lord from Llanfaes to Caernarvon, or Penrhos, or Conway, or wherever the lord wishes, also taking 2d. a day, for man and horse.[5] These obligatory services, perhaps, relate to earlier times than the fourteenth century, and the fact that the name "Beaumaris" has not been substituted for that of "Llanfaes" in the Anglesey Extent, probably indicates this. But the men and their horses and loads doubtless crossed the sands to the ferry, at no greatly increased remuneration, during the fourteenth century.

When we pass further west we shall find John de Sapy, Sheriff of Anglesey, explaining a drop in the takings of the Porthaethwy and Porthesgob ferries, on the Beaumaris fair days, in the year 1313, with the remark, "because the weather fine and the merchants crossed at Beaumaris."[1] Those coming to the fairs from the eastward preferred to travel an additional seven or eight miles rather than risk the crossing of the sands in bad weather. We shall hear more of this drawback to the Beaumaris ferry in later days.

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[1] M.A. 1151/2 to 1152/3.

[2] M.A. 1151/1 and M.A. 1150/4.

[3] M.A. 1152/3.

[4] *Rec. Caern.*, pp. 6–8.

[5] *Rec. Caern.*, p. 73.

Though it refers to the other ferries also, we may perhaps best mention here the grant which the Black Prince made on 8th February, 1352, to the Friars Minor of Llanfaes. He grants them liberty to buy fuel and victuals and other necessaries in every part of his lordships, and "that in every part where there are common passages by boats across rivers or other waters in our aforesaid lordships they have there free passage for themselves their people servants and pack-animals for their victuals at all times when they wish to pass without paying anything to us or to our custodians or to the farmers of the said passages but so that by colour thereof none other has free passage in their name."[2]

We are perhaps not straying too far away from the ferry if we pause, at this point, to challenge a statement which is made by Professor Lewis, and which reads as follows: "An early table of tolls chargeable in the port of Beaumaris shows the importance of the town to the native fishermen. Beaumaris was evidently the favourite port of call."[3] We venture to submit that the figures, upon which thus statement is founded, do not, as is assumed, represent sums paid at Beaumaris, at some earlier date, but are quoted from the Extent of Llanfaes of 1294.

The Rhingyll of Dindaethwy, in his account for the year 1350–1, gives a detailed statement of the issues of Llanfaes as given in the Extent, and which he now returns as in decay. He groups together, at the end of the list, the £12 of the passage, the 10s. of the custom of meases of herrings, the 17s. of the custom of the herring fishing boats, and the 26s. 8d. of the custom of the ships calling at the port which each pay 4d. These, he states, the Bailiffs of Beaumaris answer for in their accounts.[4]

When we turn to the Beaumaris account of the same year we find the early table of tolls. In the first item there is substituted for the "£12" of the Extent, the words "which was let to farm for 30s." The fourth item figures as "the custom called kiltol," no mention being made of the "26s. 8d."; and this is followed by a fifth item, not known at Llanfaes, "the custom of ships" under which each "ship having a boat" which calls at the port, pays 8d. The second and third items are set forth at length and this portion of the Bailiffs' account reads as follows:—

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[1] M.A. 1227/9.

[2] M.A. 1149/2.

[3] Lewis, *Boroughs*, p. 207.

[4] M.A. 1149/1.

> "Of the custom of the meases of herrings of which the lord takes of each 5 meases of herrings 1d. which custom is extended yearly at 10s. nothing answered because nothing accrued this year. Of the custom taken of each boat fishing herrings going out and entering the port 1 mease to the King for 2s. which is extended yearly at 17s. Nothing answered here because no boats called this year."

There are, unfortunately, only four Beaumaris accounts in which the port receipts are shown under these five heads. These receipts are tabulated below:—

	1350–1.[1]	1351–2.[2]	1356–7.[3]	1357–8.[4]
Passage ..	20s.	20s.	16s.	26s. 8d.
Herrings ..	nil	2d.	nil	nil
Herring-boats	nil	nil	nil	nil
Kiltol—4d.	8d.	1s. 4d.	1s.	1s. 4d.
Ships—8d.	nil	2s. 8d.	2s.	2s.

Thus ten meases of herrings are sold at Beaumaris, by outsiders, who had to pay toll, in 1352, but none in the other years; and no herring-boat paid in any of the four years.

It has been assumed by the author of the *Mediaeval Boroughs* that the 10s. and the 17s., like the 30s. of the passage, represented sums paid in respect of these customs, at some earlier date. But this is clearly not the case.

One is inclined to doubt whether the herring-boat item of the Llanfaes Extent was intended to apply to outside boats calling there. We find that such boats paid the 4d. kiltol at Conway, where, in 1305, the Bailiffs answer "for the customs of sixteen boats taking fishes and herrings calling there this year, viz. for each boat 4d."[5] We also find the 4d. kiltol levied at Mathafarn (Redwharf), where, in 1309, this custom is farmed for no less than 16s. 8d., which would mean that 50 boats must pay before the farmer even made good his rent. No other custom was taken at Mathafarn, and fishing boats were presumably paying the 4d. as at Conway.[1]

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[1] M.A. 1149/1.

[2] M.A. 1149/2.

[3] M.A. 1149/7.

[4] M.A. 1149/8. For the Extent of 1294 see Seebohm, *Tribal System*, App. Aa.

[5] M.A. 1211/2.

Details of the customs of the port are rarely given at Beaumaris; but there does not appear to be any record of more than four boats, of whatever kind they may have been, paying the 4d. kiltol there, in any year, during the fourteenth century. So far as the evidence goes it would seem to indicate that Beaumaris was by no means a favourite port of call for the native boats at this time.

Beaumaris did not escape trouble during the rebellion. The town had, so far, no wall; and we are told that burgages were burnt and destroyed, both by the rebel Welsh and by the Scots.[2] Prince Henry, on 3rd December, 1407, makes a gift of £10 towards making a "fossa" round the town,[3] and we find that, in 1414, a new stone wall has been built, or is building.[4]

The first Bailiffs' account after the rebellion is for the year 1408–9. They answer for 66s. 8d. in respect of the passage and other issues, "thus demised to them," and deduct the 30s., "as was allowed to them in the time of the King because the lord ceased to find a boat."[5]

In the first year of Henry V (i.e. from Michaelmas, 1413) the combined issues are leased to the burgesses for ten years at a rent of 70s., upon the condition that they provide, at their own costs, a suitable boat for the men of Anglesey, and that no Welshman shall on any account be brought across without the special mandate of the lord Prince (*sic*), or his Justice, or the Chamberlain, under pain of forfeiture of the boat. There is no further mention of the allowance of 30s.[6]

At the end of this lease there were years during which rents of 80s., 75s., and 73s. 4d. were paid;[7] but, in 17 Henry VI (1438), the rent is once more 70s., and the conditions are "as in the first year of Henry V," including the provision against bringing Welshmen across without special mandate.[8] This is a farm for one year only and in the following year the letting takes a new form.

In 1438–9 the passage and the other issues are leased to John Hampton and David Overton and the whole community of the town, for twenty years, at a rent of 75s., upon the condition that the said farmers find a suitable boat for the men of Anglesey at their own costs.[1] There is no further veto upon the transport of Welshmen. John Hampton and David Overton were, presumably, substantial burgesses, who accepted a certain responsibility in connection with this twenty-year lease. They were not the Bailiffs.

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[1] M.A. 1170/6. [2] M.A. 1152/4. [3] M.A. 1216/2. [4] M.A. 1152/5.

[5] M.A. 1153/2 and E 163, 7/17, Exchequer K.R. Miscellanea.

[6] M.A. 1152/5. [7] M.A. 1153/2 and E 163.7/17 Exchequer K.R. Miscellanea. [8] M.A. 1153/4.

There is a short gap in the accounts at the end of the twenty years, and then, in 1465, we find John Stanley and William Balshagh and the community granted a similar lease, at the same rent of 75s., for a term of four years. This lease is cancelled in its first year by an Act of Resumption, and is the last lease of these issues to the burgesses for any term of years.[2] In the following year, however, Hugh Stretton and Hugh Clerk and the community are holding at the same rent, for the one year.[3]

In 1467 the names of John Stanley and William Balshagh reappear, and for the next forty years the combined issues are returned as demised to these two and to the community.[4] From 1507 onwards no names are mentioned, the Bailiffs merely accounting for 75s. in respect of the passage and the other issues "thus demised this year."[5]

6. THE PORTHAETHWY FERRY, DOWN TO 1509

There does not appear to be much recorded about Porthaethwy, before Edward I's arrival in these parts. We are told that the names, "Porth aethwy" and "Din daethwy," may be taken as signifying the "creek" and the "stronghold" of one of the early tribes of the island. Also, that Llywelyn, after his victory at Aberconwy, in 1194, "won fresh triumphs at the passage of the Menai at Porthaethwy."[6]

As it is an accepted tradition that Archbishop Baldwin, in 1188, preached the Crusade among the rocks at Porthaethwy, we should, perhaps, note what Giraldus Cambrensis has to say regarding the crossing of the Straits upon this occasion, though it does not appear to concern the Porthaethwy ferry. "From Bangor," he writes, "we crossed over a small arm of the sea to the island of Mona distant thence about two miles." This would seem to suggest that the party crossed in the Bishop's boat, from Porthesgob; and as the Archbishop was the Bishop's guest at the time this may well have been the case.[1]

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[1] M.A. 1153/5.

[2] M.A. 1154/5.

[3] M.A. 1154/6.

[4] M.A. 1155/1 to M.A. Hen. VII, Anglesey, No. 1620.

[5] M.A. Hen. VII, Anglesey, No. 1621, to M.A. Eliz., Anglesey, No. 2859.

[6] Lloyd, *Hist. Wales*, Vol. I, p. 41, and Vol. II, p. 589.

Our first definite record of the ferry is found in the account, for the year 1291–2, of Edward I's first Sheriff of Anglesey, Roger de Pulesdon. He here answers:—

> "For the farm of the passage of Portaythew 4 li 6s and for the same passage together with the passage of the lord Bishop of Bangor for the three days of the fair 14s. 7½d."[2]

There is, unfortunately, a certain ambiguity about the early Porthaethwy entries, which makes it necessary to scrutinise them somewhat closely. The ferries on fair days will accordingly be considered separately from the annual farm of the ferry.

We next come to the Extent of Anglesey of 1294, which merely gives the annual value of the ferry as 53s. 4d. and tells us nothing more. The Conway and the Llanfaes ferries are the only others to figure in the early Extents. In the case of both of these a much higher value is placed upon them in the Extents than the receipts shown in the accounts seem to justify. In the case of Porthaethwy the position is just the opposite. It is farmed in 1291–2 for 86s., and in the next extant account, that for 1301–2, for 73s. 4d.;[3] but the annual value placed upon it, in the Extent of 1294, is no more than 53s. 4d.

In 1303 we have the first account based upon the Extent of 1294.

The Sheriff, Henry de Dynyton, now answers:—

> "for 20s. of increment of the farm of the passage of Portaytho which is extended at 53s. 4d. by the hand of Morwyth ap Aytho the farmer this year."[4]

He is thus answering for 73s. 4d., the same amount as 1302; and we have the same return, once more, in 1304.[5]

In 1307, after two blank years, we find "Griffin ap Oweyn," now Sheriff, answering:—

> "for 26s. 8d. of the moiety of the farm of the passage of Porthaytho by the hand of Meurik ap Aytho and others tenants of the passage at farm which is extended at 53s 4d. thus placed at farm beyond the extent this year."[6]

[1] Gir. Cambr., Vol. II, p. 101.

[2] M.A. 1227/1.

[3] M.A. 1227/3.

[4] M.A. 1227/4.

[5] M.A. 1227/5.

[6] M.A. 1170/5.

When we turn to Griffin ap Oweyn's expenditures for this year, we find him paying for the moiety of a boat bought for the ferry, and stating that the tenants of the vill of Porthaethwy are charged for the other moiety; and when we come to the more detailed Extent, of 1352, we shall find that one half of the annual value of the ferry belongs to the Prince and one half to the free tenants of Porthaethwy. This information, however, fails to make the precise meaning of the above entry clear. One may be tempted, at the first glance, to assume that the Sheriff is accounting for 26s. 8d. as the Prince's moiety of the 53s. 4d. This will, however, not bear examination. The ferry has been "placed at farm beyond the Extent this year."

It will become clear, as we follow the accounts, that the 26s. 8d. is increment; and that the Sheriff is now answering for 80s. as against 73s. 4d. in 1303 and 1304. But does the entry imply that this 80s. is the Prince's moiety of the farm only? and does it imply that the Extent value of 53s. 4d. was the value of the royal moiety of the ferry, and no more? Before seeking to answer these questions it will be best to follow the receipt entries up to 1352.

From 1307 to 1343 there is no change in the amount accounted for, and hardly a variation in the form of the entry, except that the opening words sometimes read "farm of the moiety," and sometimes "moiety of the farm."

In 1344 we have the same entry with the addition at the end of an extra 10s. "because demised to Howell ap Grono for x s. of increment this year the first."[1]

In 1347 we come to the last Sheriff's account in which the ferry is answered for. Thomas de Warrewyk, the Under-Sheriff, now answers :—

> "for 26s. 8d. of the farm of the moiety of the passage of fforthehaccho thus put to farm beyond the Extent during the said time which is extended at 53s. 4d. And for 10s. of increment of the same farm during the said time
>
> Sum 36s. 8d."[2]

In one of the following years a general rearrangement of the accounts takes place; and, henceforward, it is the Rhingyll of the commote of Dindaethwy who answers for the ferry.

In the year 1351 we meet with the first extant Rhingyll's account, that of William ap David Loid; and he answers under "Porthaythou" :—

[1] M.A. 1229/7.
[2] M.A. 1229/8.

> "for 53s. 4d. of the farm of the moiety of the passage p. ann. as is contained there [i.e., in the Extent] at the aforesaid four terms. And for 16s. 8d. of increment of the same p. ann. beyond the Extent at the aforesaid four terms and not more this year on account of the pestilence but it was wont to render beyond the Extent 36s. 8d."[1]

Thus it seems clear that, from 1344, up to the time of the pestilence, the Sheriff had been accounting for the 53s. 4d. of the Extent, and for an additional 36s. 8d. of increment, that is to say, for £4 10s. 0d.

In 1352 we have the Extent of 26 Edward III, and here, under "Porthaytho," we read as follows :—

> "In that vill there is one gwele called the gwele of David ap Mabon And the heirs thereof are Griffith ap Madoc Clothy Grono ap Blethin ap heilyn and others And they render nothing therefrom annually beyond suit to the County and the Hundred And except that their villeins pay each Cylch And they have their own mill called Melin Bach And there is there a certain passage which is of the annual value of £4 pounds 10 shillings whereof 45 shillings belongs to the Prince's estate And 45 shillings to the said heirs And the entire passage belongs wholly to the Prince's estate on the days of the Beaumaris Fair at the festival of the Nativity of the blessed Virgin Mary.
>
> Annual sum 45 shillings."[2]

Reading back from this explicit statement we can hardly come to any other conclusion than that it is the whole amount of the farm which has been accounted for, and not the royal moiety only; and, further, that whatever the intention of the framers of the early Extent may have been, the 53s. 4d. has been treated in the accounts, from 1303 onwards, as the Extent value of the whole ferry. We shall, in 1385, and the following years, meet with further evidence bearing upon these points.

Probably one of the first questions regarding the early history of the Porthaethwy ferry, for which an answer would be desired, is whether the interest of the free tenants, in the ferry, had existed in the times of the Welsh Princes. It can only be said that no indication of the dual interest is given in the early Extent, and that the accounts mention it, for the first time, in 1307. On the other hand, the Extent of 1352 represents the interest in the ferry of the heirs of David ap Mabon as on a par with that of the Prince, fair days excepted; and it may fairly be argued that the Extent would have been otherwise worded if their interest had originated in a grant from Edward I, or from Edward of Caernarvon. The reservation of the two ferries on fair days was operative, in 1292, when the fairs were at Llanfaes; and it seems reasonable to conclude that this custom, as well as the dual interest in the Porthaethwy ferry, had come down from the days of the Welsh Princes, and had been accepted by Edward I.

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[1] M.A. 1149/1.

[2] *Rec. Caern.*, p. 77.

In 1352 the Porthaethwy ferry, on fair days, is included in the annual farm of the ferry,[1] and in 1353 the Bishop's ferry shares the same fate.[2] It will be convenient, therefore, to deal with the fair days at this point.

The Ferries on Fair Days

At the time of Roger de Pulesdon's account, in 1292, the fairs, in connection with which the ferries of Porthaethwy and Porthesgob were taken into the Sheriff's hands and separately accounted for, were those of Llanfaes. As a result of Madoc's rebellion, in 1294, Llanfaes was deprived of its fairs, and these were in due course re-established at Beaumaris.[3] The date, or dates, of the Llanfaes fairs are not on record, but those of early Beaumaris were held on Ascension Day and at the Nativity of St. Mary (8th September).[4] We are told that there are no early charters for either of these fairs,[4] so it is possible that both had been transferred from Llanfaes. However this may have been, it was at the time of the September fair only that the ferries were taken over by the Sheriff.

In 1301 an Anglesey Sheriff's account shows payments to three servants ("servientes") keeping the passages of "Portaithou & porth Escop" for two days of the fair, each taking per day day 4d.; and to one servant ("garcio"), keeping the passage of "Lamays" for the same time, taking per day, 3d. Sum 2s. 6d.[5]

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[1] M.A. 1149/2.

[2] M.A. 1149/3.

[3] M.A. 1227/4, "the fairs which used to be at Lammays are removed to Bellum Mariscum."

[4] Lewis, *Boroughs*, p. 170, 171.

[5] M.A. 1170/18. This is a fragmentary account without heading, or date. It is a half-year's account, and might be for the second half of 1302, were it not for several discrepances such as in the above entries. It cannot be later than 1302, and may reasonably be attributed to the six months ending Michaelmas, 1301.

In 1302, under the heading "Wages of the Keepers of the Passages," the Sheriff pays three servants ("garciones") for keeping the passages of "Lammays et Portaytheu et Porth Escop," each taking per day 2d. for three days of the Beaumaris fair. Sum 1s. 6d.[1]

There is no such payment, in 1292; nor is there in any subsequent year; and we may probably regard this keeping of the ferries on the fair days, as an aftermath of Madoc's rebellion.

Fair-day Receipts

The two ferries are separately returned during the years 1303–1313. In other years only the total for the two is given.

Year.	*Porthaethwy.*	*Porthesgob.*	*Total.*
1292			14s. 7½d. (Llanfaes)
1302			13s. 11½d.
1303	10s.	4s. 2½d.	14s. 2½d.
1304	14s. 11¾d.	6s. 7¾d.	21s. 7½d.
1307	18s. 11½d.	7s. 10d.	26s. 9½d.
1308	18s. 11½d.	7s. 10d.	26s. 9½d.
1309	18s. 10d.	8s. 9d.	27s. 7d.
1312	20s.	10s.	30s.
1313	15s. 10¾d.	5s. 6¼d.	21s. 5d.

The totals have risen steadily up to 1312 but, in 1313, there is a drop, which the Sheriff explains with the words: "less because the weather fine and the merchants crossed at Beaumaris."

From now on only the totals are given.

Year.	*Total.*	*Year.*	*Total.*
1314	24s.	1329	15s.
1316	18s. 11¼d.	1334	8s. 8d.
1317	21s. 8d.	1337	8s. 8d.
1318	19s. 8d.	1338	8s. 8d.
1319	12s. 6d.	1339	8s. 8d.
1320	7s. 2d.	1343	11s.
1321	17s.	1344	10s.
1322	7s.	1345	8s. 6d.
1323	6s. 3d.	1347	10s.
1325	6s. 6d.	1351	30s. 4d.
1326	8s. 4d.	1352	8s. 4d.
1327	9s. 6d.		(Porthesgob only.)

Compiled from M.A. 1227/1 to 14; 1228/2 to 10; 1229/1 to 8; 1149/1 and 2; 1170/5 and 6 for years 1307 and 1309.

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[1] M.A. 1227/3.

A comparison of the returns of the earlier years shows Porthesgob as normally transporting more than a third, but less than one half, of the number carried over at Porthaethwy. The totals for the half century might have been of interest as indicating the extent to which the Beaumaris fairs were patronised from across the water at different times, but doubt appears to have been aroused concerning the accuracy of the low figures of later years.

In the Sheriff's account for 1347 the entry of 10s. is followed by a statement, doubtless inserted by the auditor, viz.: "thus charged by the preceding account because Thomas de Warrewyk, attorney of the said Sheriff refused to be sworn upon his account for this particular." The accounts for the following three years are unfortunately missing but, when we come to 1351, we find that, though the farm of the Porthaethwy ferry has fallen from 90s. to 70s., because of the pestilence, the two ferries on the fair days have yielded 30s. 4d., the highest returns for any year. There is no comment upon the amount, but the Rhingyll states that it has been accounted for, to the Chamberlain, by "Reginald de Dovorr." In 1352 the Porthaethwy ferry, on fair days, has been included in the annual farm of the ferry, but the the Bishop's ferry alone returns 8s. 4d. One concludes that suspicions had been aroused regarding the fair day takings and that steps had been taken to check them.

In 1353 both ferries on fair days are included in the farm of the Porthaethwy ferry. The Bishop's ferry continues to be mentioned, as included in the farm, up to 1385. After that date neither fair days nor the Bishop's ferry are ever again referred to in the accounts; nor is there ever any mention of either ferry on fair days in any grant, or lease, of the Porthaethwy ferry. We shall find, however, that the farmers of this ferry did not permit the rights over the Bishops ferry on fair days to lapse.

Expenditures

It is desirable at this stage to consider expenditures upon the boats, which, owing doubtless to the dual interest, are given in greater detail at Porthaethwy than elsewhere.

The first expenditure entry has been found, in 1307, when the Sheriff answers:—

> "for 18s 4d of the moiety of the boat bought for the passage of Porthaytho for which the lord King answers for the moiety of the customary (expenses) of the passage and

> charges the tenants of the vill of Porthayth for the other moiety."[1]

In some accounts the Sheriff merely gives the expenditure and does not indicate whether it is the whole or the half. In the majority of instances, however, he represents himself as paying half, and no more, because the vill of Porthaethwy, or the men of Porthaethwy, or the tenants, have to pay the other half. A typical example of the more detailed statements may be taken from William Trussell's account, for 1339. The Sheriff here answers :—

> "for 20s of the moiety of the boat bought for the passage of Portaitho and for 6s out of 12s spent upon the boat to wit in pitch and tallow 3s 4d. In planks and other timber 2s 2d. To a certain carpenter for 4 days 16d. In ropes bought 2s 2d. In oars bought 14d. In 'hirdles' for under the feet of the animals 14d. In iron nails 8d and not more because the tenants of the vill owe to find the other half.
>
> Sum 26s."[2]

The cost of the new boats purchased at this period of which the particulars have been found, is as follows : In 1307, 36s. 8d. In 1325, 40s. plus 23s. spent upon sundries.[3] In 1339, 40s. plus 12s. spent upon sundries.

Pitch and tallow form a standing item of expenditure. The price of rope is not specified in the ferry entries, but the Chamberlain, in 1311, pays 2d. a pound for hawsers and other ropes. The oars, bought for the ferry-boats, cost from 2d. to 3d. apiece; but the Chamberlain in 1310, buys 60 oars for 8s. Small nails, at 1d. per 100, were used at the Cefn Coch Mill, in 1302. The nails commonly used for the boats were "spikings," at 4d. per 100, but "Rosnails" at 10d. and, in one instance, large nails at 16d. per 100 were also used. The "hirdles," or "hirdels" (called "clada" in the earlier accounts) would appear to have been mats, of wattle-work construction, to prevent damage to the boat by the horses feet. Anchors were frequently repaired but the purchase of a new one has not been noted.

Carpenters were sometimes paid 3d., sometimes 4d. a day, and sometimes by the job. In 1320 two carpenters contracted to keep the boat in repair for the year for 2s. 6d. There is no information as to the wages paid to the ferrymen, but the

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[1] M.A. 1170/5.

[2] M.A. 1229/5.

[3] M.A. 1228/8.

Chamberlain's accounts show what was paid to the crews of the long-boat, and other boats, carrying supplies for the Castle, during the years 1304–1312.[1] The masters received 3d. a day, sometimes 4d., and the men generally 2d., but sometimes only 1½d. Occasionally boats had permanent crews over considerable periods, and in these cases the men received 2d. a day when working and 1d. a day when idle. As the labourer's wage provides a standard of values, it may be noted that the Sheriff of Anglesey, between 1344 and 1347, finances a great deal of work at Beaumaris Castle and at the Cefn Coch Mill, where the mill pool was reconstructed. Women were paid 1d., and ordinary labourers 1½d. a day.[2]

The ferriage rates are never mentioned in the accounts.

Returning to the lettings of the ferry we find the Rhingyll, in 1352, rendering his account in the same form as in 1351. The increment has increased to 46s. 8d., the Porthaethwy ferry on the days of the fair being now included in the annual farm of the ferry. The issues of the Bishop's ferry on the fair days are separately returned at 8s. 4d., and we are told that the total of £5 8s. 4d. has been paid to the Chamberlain by Ievan Tew.[3]

In 1353 the Rhingyll states that he does not answer for the 53s. 4d., or for the 46s. 8d., or for the 8s. 4d., "because the said profits were demised to Ievan Tew this year for 116s. 8d. for which the said Ievan answers directly."[4]

We here part company with the Extent of 1294, and that of 1352 is never referred to in the ferry entries. From now up to 1385 the Rhingyll merely returns the rent paid for the Porthaethwy ferry, together with the passage of the Bishop on the days of the fair.

In 1353	Ievan Tew holds the farm at a rent of		£5	16s.	8d.
In 1354 and 5	,,	,,	£5	6s.	8d.
In 1356 and 7	Gr. ap Mad Clodieth	,,	£5	11s.	8d.
In 1358	Ievan Tew	,,	£5	11s.	8d.
In 1360	Eign' ap lli ap Eign' Gogh	,,	£5	11s.	8d.

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[1] M.A. 1211/2 to 5.

[2] M.A. 1229/7 and 8.

[3] M.A. 1149/2.

[4] M.A. 1149/3. In 1353, one John, son of Urien de St. Petro, Knt, in compensation for lands and rents surrendered by him, in Cheshire, is granted a certain sum for life from the King's rents and farms in Anglesey. The passage of Porthaethwy is among the issues assigned for this purpose, and for some years we find the Ringyll crediting himself with the payment of £4 17s. 3d., "as well of rent as of the passage and of the farm of the office of Rhingyll," to Sir John de St. Petro Knt. The latter, however, has no direct concern with the passage, or its farm. M.A. 1305/16.

In 1364	Griff ap Mad for 10 years this the 1st He to maintain the boat at his own cost	£6	3s.	4d.
In 1377	Griff ap Mad and others for 4 years this the 2nd	£6	6s.	8d.
In 1381	Griff ap Mad and others for this year	£6	6s.	8d.
In 1382	Griff ap Mad Clodeith for 4 years this the 1st He to maintain the boat	£5	6s.	8d.[1]

In 1381 a claim by the farmer for 20s. spent upon the boat is disallowed. The Chamberlain, however, this year provides a new boat, built by "Ievan Saer," of which the King's moiety alone amounts to 50s. We note that the rent paid for this boat is £1 less than was previously paid. Perhaps it was too big. The loss of this boat "by tempest" is recorded in 1384.

One is inclined to surmise that the lettings to "Griff ap Mad and other" signify that the free tenants of Porthaethwy were themselves farming the ferry.

A brief reference may be made to the lists of boats which are found in the Chamberlains' accounts from 1377 to 1397. During the first three years, for some unexplained reason, no boat is shown at Porthaethwy. In 1381 a boat is built, by agreement with Ievan Saer, of which the King's moiety is 50s.; and half a boat is shown at Porthaethwy at the end of this year. The loss of this boat is certified in 1384 by the same inquisition as certified the loss of the Beaumaris boat, and there is, once more, no boat at Porthaethwy. The replacement of the boat has not been noted, but a half boat at Porthaethwy figures in the lists, from 1386 to 1397.[2]

The terms of the lettings would doubtless have explained the discrepancies between the lists and what we are told in the Rhingyll's accounts. We meet with samples of these, in Henry VII's reign, but not before.

In 1385 the Chamberlain, John de Wodehouse, claims allowance in his account of 20s. which he has paid to Thomas Stanford, one of the King's serjeant chandlers. This is one half of an annuity of 40s., which is to issue from the passage of Porthaethwy. The Chamberlain quotes the Letters Patent, dated 5th April, 8 Richard II (1385), according to which Stanford is to have "the said 40s. of the profits of the ferry or passage aforesaid which is worth yearly 40s. as the King receives," but is to answer to the Exchequer, at Caernarvon, for any surplus. The Chamberlain's statement ends with the words: "Of which passage profits the rhingyll of Dynd' answers for 106s. 8d. in his account this year."[1]

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[1] M.A. 1149/3 to 1150/8.

[2] M.A. 1305/17 and 18 and M.A. 1214/6 to 1215/8.

Stanford is later allowed to return the Letters of 5th April, 8 Richard II, to be cancelled, and receives other Letters, dated 8th January, 9 Richard II (1386), which concede him "the said ferry or passage to hold with all profits therefrom arising for the whole of his life even if the said profits exceed the value of 40s. aforesaid."[2]

On 13th October, 1390, a new Chamberlain, William de Frodesham by name, comes into office.[3] In 1393 he finds the first grant to Thomas Stanford, but apparently overlooks the second; and he decides to find out what Stanford has been getting from the ferry. On the Saturday before Michaelmas, 1393, he has what he terms an Extent of the passage made before him at Caernarvon. This, he states, shows that the passage "is of the annual value in all issues of 46s. 8d. beyond the repair and maintenance of the boat." De Frodesham, accordingly, advises the King's Exchequer that Thomas Stanford should be required to pay 6s. 8d. for each year, since 5th April, 8 Richard II, in respect of the surplus which he has been receiving.[4]

This Report is duly recorded among the Memoranda of the King's Remembrancer, but we are not told what reply was made to it. What is of interest to us is that at a time when the ferry was being farmed for 106s. 8d., the King's share, after allowing for the repair and maintenance of the boat, is officially returned at 46s. 8d. The Chamberlain had apparently found that the expenditures upon the boat had averaged 13s. 4d. per annum, leaving 93s. 4d. to be divided between the King and the free tenants. The earlier rulings that the farmer was to maintain the boat were evidently being disregarded at this time.

John de Wodehous and William de Frodesham, between them, quite definitely show, if further proof is needed, that the amounts, for which the Rhingylls have been accounting, have been the entire farm of the ferry and not the King's moiety only. No squaring of accounts as between the Chamberlain and the free tenants has, however, been found.

De Frodesham would appear to have been very badly served by his staff at Caernarvon in this matter. When we turn to the Rhingyll's accounts we find that he has been citing the

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[1] M.A. 1214/11.

[2] Pat. Roll 9, Rich. II, pt. 2, m. 42.

[3] M.A. 1215/3.

[4] Exchequer K.R. Memoranda Roll 170.

Letters of 8th January, 9 Richard II, granting Stanford the passage "with all profits therefrom arising," each year since 1396, as his justification for making no return.[1]

We may note that Thomas Stanford was living at Caernarvon at this time. Letters Patent, dated 27th May, 1387, grant him "the office of Janitor of our town of Caernarvon," with "the wages and fee to that office pertaining."[2] He was still enjoying his interest in the ferry, when, on 23rd February, 1397, the whole County of Anglesey is granted to William le Scrope.[3]

Porthaethwy after Glyndŵr's Rebellion

We are told that Glyndŵr's hold on Anglesey and Caernarvonshire had been practically lost by the end of 1406, when large numbers of the men of Anglesey made terms with the English and paid their fines.[4]

The first reference to Porthaethwy after the rebellion is found in an account covering three years from 8th February, 1407, rendered by the Chamberlain, Thomas Barneby. In this he answers "for 34s. from the passage of beasts at Porthaitho by the hands of divers persons within the time of the account." This is the only reference to the passage of cattle at Porthaethwy, which has been found in the Ministers Accounts. The authorities were perhaps levying a tax, with a view to checking the export of cattle from Anglesey at this time.[5]

In 1409 we have the first Rhingyll's account, but the ferry was not being farmed and he answers "for nothing" in respect of it.[6]

On 10th May, 11 Henry IV (1410), Prince Henry grants to his beloved William Halley, in recognition of good services, his ferries of Caernarvon and Porthaethwy, for the term of his life, "with the fees profits and commodities to the aforesaid ferries due and accustomed up to the value of 100s. yearly." Halley is to answer to the Exchequer at Caernarvon for any surplus.[7]

In 1414 (2 Henry V) we have another Rhingyll's account, which recites how the King, when Prince, had granted the moiety of the passage of Porthaethwy to William Halley, together with the passage of Caernarvon, up to the value of 100s., for his life, but so that he answered to Caernarvon for the surplus. The Rhingyll adds that the Chamberlain has farmed the surplus to William Halley for 12 years from Michaelmas, 1413, for 6s. 8d. per annum.[1]

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[1] M.A. 1151/2 to 1152/2.

[2] Pat. Roll 10, Rich. II, pt. 2, m. 13.

[3] M.A. 1152/3.

[4] Lloyd, *Glendower*, pp. 129–30.

[5] M.A. 1216/2.

[6] M.A. 1152/4.

[7] Pat. Roll 1 Hen. VI, pt. 2, m. 21, recites and confirms these Letters.

We are here once more placed in difficulties by the moiety. We shall not attempt to explain the intention of the grant. The accounts quite clearly show that Halley pays 6s. 8d. each year, in respect of the surplus of the farm of the passage of Porthaethwy, above the value of 100s. There is no mention of Caernarvon, except in the recitals of the grant, and Halley never establishes a ferry at Caernarvon under his grant for life, but he is eventually, though not until 1426, given a 20 years' lease of the Caernarvon ferry at the rent of 7s. per annum. He pays his 6s. 8d. at Porthaethwy, up to 1425,[2] after which there is a gap of 12 years in the Anglesey accounts.

As from Michaelmas, 1437, John Pykmere farms the ferry for 103. 8d. On 14th October of this year, however, the King grants the passage of Southcroke (Abermenai) and the moiety of Porthaethwy to Thomas Aldenham, a groom of his chamber, and the Rhingyll accounts for 4s. 4½d. only, being Pykmere's rent up to the date of the grant.[3]

In 1442, one Robert Spicer is associated with Thomas Aldenham in a fresh grant of the same premises, "which is for their lives and that of the longer liver."[4]

In 1451 we find that the ferries had been taken back into the King's hands, in November, 1449, by an Act of Resumption, and that some confusion regarding the rents had arisen. It is now laid down that, henceforward, the King is to receive £3 6s. 8d. in respect of Porthaethwy, and £4 10s. 0d. in respect of Southcroke, and that this is to be a condition of all subsequent lettings.[5] From this time on the Rhingyll answers for no other figure than £3 6s. 8d., until Henry VII comes upon the scene and takes an interest in his revenue.

In 1453, William Gruffith is the farmer and pays for this and the preceding year.[6]

In 1454, Joan, "who was the wife of John Pykmere," has the

[1] M.A. 1152/5.
[2] M.A. 1153/2.
[3] M.A. 1153/4.
[4] M.A. 1153/6.
[5] M.A. 1153/7.
[6] M.A. 1154/1.

passage demised to her for twelve years, by pledge of William Gruffith and others.[1]

During the eleven years, from 1462 to 1473, there is much confusion in the accounts as the result of alternate grants by King Edward IV, and Acts of Resumption, in the Parliament at Westminster.

On 27th February, 1462, the King grants the passage to Geoffrey Ferrour for life; and from Michaelmas, 1463, the passage is taken back into the King's hands by an Act of Resumption.[2]

On 5th May, 1465, the King renews the grant to Geoffrey Ferrour; and from Easter, 1467, the passage is again taken into the King's hands, apparently under an Act passed the previous June.[3] These happenings do not affect Joan Pykmere, who completes her term up to Michaelmas, 1465, paying her £3 6s. 8d. to the Rhingyll, when the passage is in the King's hands, and at other times, presumably, to Geoffrey Ferrour. Prince Edward becomes Prince of Wales in 1471, and the revenue is appropriated to him. Geoffrey Ferrour may subsequently have made a payment or two in respect of the rent of the ferry, but, in 1473, the rent is "respited until further advice" by the Prince.[4] These last details are noted on account of a statement concerning Geoffrey Ferrour, which we shall find in Henry VIII's first grant.

Harking back a few years we find William Gruffith, as deputy to John Lord Dudley, the Chamberlain, rendering an account, in 1459, which to some extent concerns the ferries. He has paid 45s. 2d. in boat hire, "for the Chancellor of the Prince for Robert Whitinghame general receiver of the same lord Prince and other divers Knights and gentlemen coming with them to the parts of North Wales for holding the sessions there in August 37 Henry VI to wit the first time for this passage once at Bewmarres, 10s. the second time at Porthaythowe 21s. 8d. the third time at Caernarvon 8s. and the fourth time the Southcroke 5s. 6d."[5]

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[1] M.A. 1154/2. The name "Pykemere" figures in its abbreviated form as "Pykm'e" and appears to have been sometimes misread as "Pykine." See *Arch. Camb.*, Sup. Vol., 1917, p.241, License to John Pykine and Joan his wife to construct a tower at Penrhyn, A.D. 1438. See also Griffith, *Pedigrees*, p. 185, where Joan is stated to have married William ap Griffith of Penrhyn, prior to her marriage to John Pykine.

[2] M.A. 1154/5.

[3] M.A. 1154/6 and 1155/1.

[4] M.A. 1155/3.

[5] M.A. 1217/3. No other reference to these sessions has been noted in the accounts.

The party evidently crossed at the ferries, but the amounts paid suggest that a large number of boats must have been employed in transporting them, especially at Porthaethwy.

In 1476, William Gruffith is the occupier of the Porthaethwy ferry, and he appears to have held it during the following years, the name figuring as William Gruffith Senior, in 1482.[1]

On 8th March, 1484, King Richard III grants the "passage in North Wales called Porthathowe," to James Huddleston, for life, "rendering no account therefor."[2]

There are no Anglesey accounts for the two years of Richard III's reign, and we hear no more of James Huddleston; but the Rhingyll's account, for the year 1485–6 (1–2 Hen. VII), shows William Gruffith and William Gruffith Junior as owing the rent of the ferry in respect of these years.[3]

We may pause here to note that though we have found a William Gruffith, acting as Deputy Chamberlain, in 1459, it is not until Richard III's reign that we meet with one figuring in the accounts as Chamberlain. From Michaelmas, 1483, to Michaelmas, 1490, the Chamberlain is William Gruffith Esquire, but he has been displaced by Richard Pole Knt., in 1491. William Gruffith is first accorded the title of Knight in the Rhingyll's account for 1491, but he appears to have been knighted "at the creation of Prince Arthure," on St. Andrews Eve, 1489.[4]

The battle of Bosworth was fought on 22nd August, 1485, and on 26th September of the same year Henry VII made a grant, under the seal of his Exchequer of Caernarvon, which concerned the Porthaethwy ferry.

This grant is made to William Anneon, servant of the King, in consideration of the good services which his said servant had rendered "at the royal triumph of the King and victory." The King concedes to William Anneon "the office of custodian and the passage[5] of the King of Porthathowe in the County of Caernarvon in Northwales . . . during his life with wages and fee from ancient time due and accustomed having and receiving the issues arising from the said ferry by his own hands at the usual terms there together with all other profits commodities and emoluments to that office aforetime pertaining." This is followed by a certain qualification, however, namely: "that express mention of the certitude of the premisses is not to be had by these presents."

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[1] E. 163, 8/29, Exchequer K.R., Miscellanea, and M.A. 1155/5 and 6.

[2] Pat. Roll 1 Rich. III, pt. 4, m. 21.

[3] M.A. Hen. VII 10315.

[4] Metcalf, *Knights Banneret.*

[5] The words "of the ferry" would appear to have been omitted after the word "custodian." The clause should probably read here as elsewhere, "custodian of the ferry and the passage."

The Rhingyll recites the grant, in his account, for 1485–6, but states that he has paid William Anneon nothing in respect of it "because no wage or fee pertains to that office from ancient time." It is thus clear that whatever the grant is meant to convey, it is nothing for which the Rhingyll has been accustomed to account and it is, therefore, not a grant of the King's moiety of the ferry.

When we look into the details of the account we find that William Gruffith is returned as the farmer of the moiety, at the usual rent of 66s. 8d. He has not paid this year's rent, however, nor is he shown as owing it; but among the arrears we have the following item: "William Anneon occupier of the custody of the ferry and the passage of the King of Porthaithowe within his County of Caernarvon for moneys received by him from the custody of the ferry and passage aforesaid for this year 66s. 8d."[1]

In the account for the following year, 1486–7, the grant is again recited, and the reason for making no payment under it is repeated. William Anneon is, this year, returned as holding the King's moiety. No rent has, however, been paid, and under "arrears" we now find William Anneon owing for moneys received by him during the two years, £6 13s. 4d.[2]

There are no Anglesey accounts for the next three years. When we come to that for 1490–1 there is no mention of the grant to William Anneon. William Gruffith, Knt., is the farmer of the King's moiety. He has paid his £3 6s. 8d. and there are no arrears for this year. But we find that William Gruffith, Knt., and William Anneon, as "occupiers of the custody of the ferry and the passage of the lord Prince of Porthaithowe within the county of Anglesey," are returned as owing the £3 6s. 8d. for the previous year; and that William Anneon as "occupier of the custody of the ferry and the passage of the lord Prince of Porthaithowe within the county of Caernarvon," for moneys received by him, during the four years, up to Michaelmas, 1489, owes £13 6s. 8d.[3] Later, in an "Account of Old Arrears," dated 1501, we find Anneon returned as owing for all five years, up to Michaelmas, 1490.[4] We may conclude that Anneon, though held to be entitled to nothing under his grant, has been allowed to take the 66s. 8d. of rent of

[1] M.A. Hen. VII, 10315.

[2] M.A. Hen. VII, 10316.

[3] M.A. Hen. VII, 1618.

[4] M.A. Hen. VII, 1603.

the royal moiety, each year, by way of compensation, but that this is returned in the accounts as money owing by Anneon to the Exchequer.

Turning to another source of information, we find Prince Arthur, who had become Prince of Wales in 1489, giving instructions that a pension of 66s. 8d. is to be paid by the Chamberlain of Chester to "William Annion," who is here described as "gladiator maior of our county [or city?] of Chester." The mandate bears no date, but may well have been sent in time for the pension to have been paid in 1491, as the last payment shown in the accounts is made to Anneon in 1490. We also find, from the same source a "Quit-Claim" by William Annion, under which he relinquishes any claim, or right, which he may have "in the farm of the passage or ferry of Porthathie in the county of Carnarvon; and also, any claim against "William ap Rhys, farmer of the said passage or ferry, notwithstanding any indentures or other writings or agreements made between him and the said William ap Rhys, . . . concerning any farm or annuity or rent in the aforesaid ferry." This "Quit-Claim" is dated November, 1494.[1]

We shall presently meet with "William ap Res," and we shall later be able to hazard a shrewd guess at the source which the grant to William Anneon was meant to tap. For the moment we may note that the term "custody" carries no special significance. It is frequently met with, and there is no distinction between a grant of a ferry and a grant of the custody of a ferry. One does, however, attach definite significance to the association of the custody granted to William Anneon with the county of Caernarvon, and to the suggestion of a separate custody upon each side of the Porthaethwy ferry.

After 1491—when the Anneon episode has ended and Sir William Gruffith is once more the farmer of the ferry and paying the £3 6s. 8d. in respect of the royal moiety—we strike a long gap of no less than thirteen years in the Anglesey accounts. The next in the series is that for the year ending Michaelmas, 1504, and we now find that the ferry is leased for four years to one Lli ap Eign ap Ieun Coke, at a rent of £14 per annum.[2] There is no longer any moiety, and we shall never find any mention of the moiety again in any account or lease, or grant of the ferry. What has happened since 1491?

In seeking for information, we make the acquaintance of a certain Thomas Heton, who, according to the Chamberlain's accounts, held the office of Constable of Caernarvon Castle, from Michaelmas, 1504, up to 25th March, 1506,[1] but whom we shall find to have been a constable of a somewhat unusual type. We shall also meet with Henry Bold, the clerk of the exchequer and responsible for its custody during the absence of John Pilyston, who was Deputy Chamberlain in 1504–5 and Chamberlain in 1506–7.

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[1] Edwards, *Ancient Correspondence*, pp. 224–5.

[2] M.A. Hen. VII, 1619.

Henry Bold has left several Memoranda regarding his dealings with Thomas Heton. In one (undated) he notes that Thomas Heton, Constable of the Castle, had required him to inform the King's Commissioners "what bokes be in the Excheker," and gives the reply which he had made to the request. In another, dated 25th September, 1505, he gives the substance of a threatening communication received by him, in the absence of the Deputy Chamberlain, from Owen ap John ap [illeg.] and Thomas Heton, "of the Kinges Commissioners nowe lately appointed in Chesshire and Northwales." Henry Bold will answer, at his peril, if any alterations are made in certain books which they have signed. In a third, dated 2nd November, 1505, he gives a list of the books and accounts and other records, which Thomas Heton "according to the Kinges commandement," had required him to show at a time when he (Bold) was in the "Rowme of the Chamberlain."[2]

There is also extant a Memorandum book, kept by Thomas Heton himself. The only dates in the book are in one portion, in which Thomas Heton has entered his daily household expenses. These cover the period from 8th September to 29th October, 1505. We can thus safely say that Thomas Heton was carrying on his investigations at the Exchequer during the second half of 1505. A large proportion of the entries in this book concern the doings of John Buttes, who was auditor and controller at this time and had acted as Chamberlain during 1503. If Thomas Heton's notes are to be credited, John Buttes had been accepting bribes, falsifying accounts, and misappropriating funds on an extensive scale. A number of the entries are of some little local interest and there are a few references to Porthaethwy. These are scattered through the book and are as follows :—

> "Item in A° xviij Mr. Richard Bulkeley hath receyved the vij li of Porthaythey and reteyneth the same still for it appereth nat that the Auditor hath charged hym in any other place therewt."

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[1] M.A. Hen. VII, 1599 and 1600.

[2] Excheq. K.R. Accts. E. 101, 517/13, Nos. 1, 2, and 3.

"Item to enquere of William ap Res what he paith for the Fery Hous and why the king is no more answared but of vij li the on half of the ferme."

"Item to enquere certainly what Lli ap Eign paith for Porthaythey it is in Harry Boldes boke but vij li and as is said is letten for xiiij li."

"Md that William ap Res Offerd for the ferme of Porthaythey for iij or iiij yere xiiij li where the King is answared but vij li by yere as he saith afore Mr. Richard Bangor."

"Md that Roger Cogh shewed me that Buttes had xls in gold of Sir William Gruff by the hands of William ap Res for to be gode frend in his matter of Porthaythey and was never the better."

"Md to see A° XX Angles wheder that the fferme of Porthaythey stand still vij li or nat."[1]

Leaving Thomas Heton's Memoranda on one side for the moment, we turn to some other records of his investigations at the Caernarvon Exchequer at this time. These are a series of extracts from Accounts, each bearing the signature of Thomas Heton and another, among which we find a copy of so much of the account of the Rhingyll of Dindaethwy, for the year ending Michaelmas, 1502, as relates to Porthaethwy. A literal translation of this is as follows:—

"Anglesey. in the Account of the Rhingyll of Dynd of the year 18 H. VII. It is thus enrolled

Porthaythowe &
Southcroke. And for 10s. of native rent of the moiety of one gavel of land of the nature of Trefgevery in that township paid annually at the aforesaid terms of the year equally as contained in the said new extent.

For any profit arising from the issues or farm of the passage or ferry of Porthaithowe with the profits revenues commodities pertinences of whatever kind to the said passage and ferry relating for the time of the account he does not answer because Richard Bulkeley Clerk Archdeacon of Bangor held and occupied the said passage independently for the said time of this account and the issues and profits of the same

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[1] M.A. Hen. VII, 1611. During Hen. VII's reign the financial year is more than ten months in advance of the regnal year. The first financial year is that ending Mich., 1485. The 18th year is thus the year ending Mich., 1502, and the 20th, that ending Mich., 1504.

> took and holds by way of appropriation by the assignment of the Council late of the lord Arthur Prince until the right shall have been determined between the said lord Prince and William Gruffith Knight in that the said William Gruffith Knight claims the moiety of the passage or ferry aforesaid as his right and as part of his estate now though the said William Gruffith Knight has fully relinquished his aforesaid claim to the passage or ferry aforesaid or any part thereof before the lord King now Henry VII and his Council as manifestly appears by the letters of the said lord King directed to the Reverend father in Christ and lord lord William Bishop of Lincoln and his other commissioners nevertheless the aforesaid Richard Bulkeley [tear] Archdeacon of Bangor who took the issues and profits of the passage or ferry aforesaid by reason of the aforesaid assignment as is aforesaid has altogether refused to make payment or [tear] thereof notwithstanding the aforesaid disclaimer whereby answer is made to the lord King. But he answers for 67s. 8d. [tear] of the farm of the passage or ferry of the water of Meney called Southcroke thus demised this year.
>
> Sum 77s. 8d.
>
> Examined by Thomas Heton and Her' Bold."[1]

Thus we learn that Sir William Gruffith had in some way become possessed of the moiety of the ferry which had earlier belonged to the free tenants, and that his title to it had been challenged by Prince Arthur's Council. The Council had placed the ferry in the Archdeacon's hands pending a decision in the matter; and the Archdeacon had held the ferry and had received the rent for the year ending Michaelmas, 1502. We are also told that Sir William Gruffith had relinquished his claim. This is the position three years before we find Thomas Heton making his inquiries; and the Commissioners for whom he is working, and who are said to be "now lately appointed," in September, 1505, can so far have had no concern with the matter. We may take it, however, that it is for these Commissioners that Thomas Heton has had the copy of the Rhingyll's account made.

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[1] M.A. Hen. VII, 1610, m. 2. We may note that from the time of the grant of the Porthaethwy and Southcroke ferries to Thomas Aldenham, in 1437, the Rhingyll of Dindaethwy always accounts for the rent of Southcroke.

Bearing no date, and calendared as "temp. Hen. VIII," our next record clearly fits in to our story at this point, and a date a little prior to Michaelmas, 1502, may be ascribed to it. In later times we find petitions from parties desirous of securing leases coming before the lords of the Treasury, accompanied by reports by the Surveyor-General. We seem to have here a very early sample of some such procedure. It would almost seem as if the petitioner had himself drafted the opening portion. The attached 'bille," however, is in legal Latin.

> "To the king oure soueraigne Lord
> Pleas it yo^r^ heighnes of your most habundant grace to graunte vnto yo^r^ humble Subgiect Lli ap Eign ap Ieun Coke yo^r^ gracious letters patentes in dewe forme to be made vnder the Seale of yo^r^ Principalitie of Northwales after teno^r^ ensuying and that this bill signed by yo^r^ grace may be sufficient warant vnto the Chamberleyn or his deputie ther for making owte and delyvery therof accordingly.
> The King etc. To all to whom etc. Know that we of our special grace and by the advice of our council have demised and conceded and by these presents demise and concede to our beloved Lli ap Eign ap Ieun Coke our ferry or passage of the water of Meney between County Caernarvon and County Anglesey in North Wales called Porthaithowe together with our Boats and its other pertinences there To have hold and occupy the ferry or Passage and Boats aforesaid with all and singular profits advantages and other pertinences of whatever kind relating to the same to the aforesaid Lli ap Eign his assigns or executors from the feast of Saint Michael the Archangel next to the end and term of six years then next following and fully to be completed Rendering therefor annually to us and our heirs Princes of Wales fourteen pounds sterling payable to our exchequer of Caernarvon at two terms of the year viz. at the feast of Saint Peter which is called Ad Vincula and of Saint Michael the Archangel in equal portions Provided nevertheless that the said Lli ap Eign his assigns or executors shall within the aforesaid term at their own costs build one new horse boat and shall leave it at the end of the aforesaid term together with the other boat now there in good and sufficient repair for our future use any Act Statute ordinance restriction provision or any other matter or cause whatsoever before this time made delivered or provided to the contrary in any way notwithstanding.
> In which matter etc."[1]

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[1] Exchequer K.R. Miscellanea E. 163, 11/31.

The Petition bears the following endorsement:—

> "Lln ap Eign
> Md. that this peticioner offereth the full rent wᵗout the houses that was paid for the same wᵗ the howses and to make a new horse bote to fery to the kinge's use so he may have the terme vnt vj yeres."

When we turn to the Account, which has already been referred to, for the year ending Michaelmas, 1504, we find that Lli ap Eign had been granted a lease of the Porthaethwy ferry "with the boats of the said lord King and the houses and other profits." The lease was for four years from Michaelmas, 1502, and at a rent of £14; but it was subject to the approval of the lord King and his Council and Commissioners, and some delay has occurred. Lli ap Eign's tenure has, apparently, not commenced until 11th November, 1503; and for the year ending Michaelmas, 1504, which is described as the first year of his term, he has only paid £7, one half-year's rent due 29th June.[1] We later find that Lli ap Eign has his term extended to Michaelmas, 1507, and thus gets his four years.

It will be noted that while Lli ap Eign, in his petition, makes no mention of any house, and the endorsement stresses the point that he is offering the full rent without the houses that was paid with the houses, the lease specifically grants him the houses.

We shall return later to the question of the ferry-house, but meanwhile we have one further record, concerning Sir William Gruffith and his moiety, to deal with. This is a paper roll, bearing no date, and which has been calendared among the Ministers' Accounts of Henry VIII's reign. Its heading and commencement is lost, and it now begins abruptly as follows:—

> "Item of Willm Gruffith knyght for intrudyng in to the one halff of the [tear] fery of porthaithowe by xvj hole yeres after the Rate of Lxs. by yere in all.
> Item the same Willm Gruffith Knyght for occupying and intrudyng of a Quarrey of Mylstones a genst the Kynges prerogatif to the yerely value of Lxvjs. viijd. by xj yeres in all.
> Item of Richard Bulkeley Clerk Hugh Bulkeley Rouland Bulkeley Grono ap Dd Vaghan Res ap Dd ap Mered and lli ap Hoell ap Dd ap Tudd for occupying of diuerse Quarreys of Milstones a genst the Kynges prerogatif to the yerely value of xviij li by xj yeres in all."

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[1] M.A. Hen. VII, 1619.

The amount of each fine had been entered in the margin, but the margin has been largely torn away. There is, however, a summary at the end of the list which gives William Gruffith's total fine as £84 12s. 2d., and that of the Bulkeley group as £198. There are many others in the list and the fines amount in all to a grand total of £872 7s. 8d.

We may note, also, that this list is followed by a second, which has the heading :—

> "Comorthaes Conceilements Escapes wᵗ other thynges fond be fore the Kynges Commysioners a fore named."

We may therefore conclude that we have in this roll the list of fines imposed by the Commissioners, for whom Thomas Heton was working. It may well have been dated 1506, or 1507.[1]

Reviewing these records we find that the ferry had been in the Archdeacon's hands from Michaelmas, 1501, and we may reasonably conclude that Sir William Gruffith could not have been treated as an intruder after that date. He is fined in respect of an intrusion of sixteen years, and this takes us back from Michaelmas, 1501, to Michaelmas, 1485, and the time of the grant to William Anneon. So that, for all of the five years, during which William Anneon held the custody of the Porthaethwy ferry in the County of Caernarvon, and received nothing therefrom, William Gruffith has now been found to have held one half of the ferry as an intruder.

When we examine the various references to houses, we find that Lli ap Eign, in his Petition, does not ask for any house, and that the endorsement points out that he is offering the same rent without the houses as had been paid with the houses. The lease to Lli ap Eign, of 1502, however, includes the houses. In 1505, Thomas Heton finds that Lli ap Eign is holding the ferry, but that William ap Res is occupying the ferry-house. He also states that William ap Res had offered £14 for the ferry, and mentions the report that it was by William ap Res that Sir William Gruffith had sent his bribe to Buttes.

May we not take it that it was William ap Res who had paid the same rent with the ferry-house, which Lli ap Eign was offering to pay without, and that William ap Res had been Sir William Gruffith's tenant, both for the ferry and the ferry-house? Further, that when Sir William Gruffith, in 1502, abandoned any claim to the ferry, or any part of it, he retained the ferry-house; and that it thus comes about that in 1505, despite the terms of the lease, William ap Res has the ferry-house, while Lli ap Eign holds the ferry ?

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[1] M.A. Hen. VIII Bdle 7490, No. 750/22.

There is a ferry-house at Abermenai at this time, which is crown property ; but there has never been a hint of any such house at Porthaethwy. We shall find Coningsby Williams petitioning, in 1687, for a license to build a house "upon the wast called Porthaythway Comon," and representing that "in regard there are noe houses for the habitacon of the fferrymen the passage is much incomoded." There was clearly no ferry-house on the Porthaethwy Common in 1687, and it seems to be implied that no houses of any kind had so far been built there.

The view here taken is that Sir William Gruffith had a house upon the Caernarvonshire side, which had been serving as a ferry-house, and that William ap Res had been his tenant, both for the house and ferry. As to when the moiety of the ferry passed into the possession of the Gruffith family we have no hint, but the grant to William Anneon, if we have rightly interpreted the position, indicates that William Gruffith's moiety had come to be associated with his ferry-house upon the Caernarvonshire shore. It would appear, also, that since one rent had covered both ferry and ferry-house, the authorities were, at the time of the lease of 1502, hoping to secure both ferry and ferry-house for the Crown. Sir William Gruffith, however, appears to have made good his title to the house.

In the hope of confirming the above view of the position, search has been made for the date of Sir William Gruffith's death, and for the Escheators' accounts of his estate, but, unfortunately, without success. Another William Gruffith, Esquire, becomes Chamberlain, in 1508, the last year of Henry VII's reign.[1] This is, presumably, the "William Gruffith Junior," of 1485–6. He is knighted in 1513,[2] and appears to have held the office of Chamberlain without a break up to his death on 21st July, 1531. The Escheators of both counties account for his estates, in 1533.[3] He did not die seised of any lands in Dindaethwy, having conveyed all his property in that commote to trustees, in the interests of his many daughters. He did die seised of lands in Bangor and in the Bishop's lordship of Maynol Bangor, and his lands in this lordship appear to be listed in a certain order, running from east to west.

The list begins with "ygarth Issaph" and "ygarth Ughaph." Then we have "Hendre Silleon"—"parth yoostreley in the tenure of the community of Bangor"—"Mays Llodik in tenure of David Moythey chaplain," and "ykevyn in tenure of David ap Res Bangor." We then have three unnamed tenements, the third of which is "in tenur Rici ap Willm ap Res." This is followed by a tenement "at Trefborth," and then comes "Cay Tegyd," and three more tenements, the last being in the tenure of William Moythey; and the list ends with "a fishery in the tenure of the said William."

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[1] M.A. Hen. VII, 1621.

[2] Metcalf, *Knights Banneret*, pp. 47–50.

[3] M.A. Hen. VIII. 4683 Anglesey. 4948 Caernarvon.

We may identify "Garth," at one end of the line, and, with much probability, the old Treborth weir at the other. This lay on the Caernarvonshire shore, a little to the southwestward of the Britannia Rock, and was recommended for removal, in 1846, when the bridging of the Straits by the Chester and Holyhead Railway Company was under consideration.[1] We may almost certainly identify "Mays Llodik" as the "Maes Lodwig" of later times. We find Telford making his new road from Bangor to the ferry, in 1816, across "Camaes Lodwig,"[2] and the name figures in John Wood's "Plan of Bangor," of 1834, not far from the site of the present St. James's Church.

We may claim that Richard ap William ap Res' tenement, and its position in the list, on the Bangor side of "Trefborth," does lend a certain degree of support to the view that William ap Res' ferry-house was Sir William Gruffith's property, and that it was situated upon the Caernarvonshire side of the ferry.

One would like to have penetrated a little further behind the scenes, and to have learned why Sir William Gruffith relinquished his claim to the moiety of the ferry, and upon what grounds he was fined as an intruder. The authorities were certainly not ignorant of the past history of the ferry. The "New Extent," i.e. that of 1352, is still being cited in every account.

One would also have liked to know something of what lay behind the grant to William Anneon, and what exactly it was meant to convey. It would appear to have been made in ignorance of the true position, but the King's commissioners, later, seem to have associated Sir William Gruffith's intrusion with the date of this grant.

We need not necessarily attach any special significance to William Anneon's reference, in 1494, to William ap Rhys. We later find that it is customary for the actual occupier of the ferry, the tenant of the crown lessee, to pay the reserved or crown rent as well as the rent he has to pay to the crown lessee. William ap Rhys had doubtless received instructions to pay this £3 6s. 8d. to William Anneon, and the latter's receipt would be produced to the auditor year by year. We may note, however, that this arrangement is terminated, in 1491, when Richard Pole, Knt., displaces Sir William Gruffith as Chamberlain.

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[1] "Report of the Survey of the Swelly Rocks," by Captn. Beechey, R.N. Ordered by H. of C. to be printed, 1850 (Parl. Papers).

[2] Office of Works, Miscellanea, Vol. 69, pp. 151–5.

Further records relating to this matter may well be in existence. Meanwhile the outcome is clear. The moiety of the Porthaethwy ferry, which earlier belonged to the free tenants, has now been forfeited to or appropriated by the King.

Returning to the Rhingyll's accounts, we find that "lli ap Eign ap Ieun Coke" is still holding the ferry in 1508, but that his rent is now £18 13s. 4d. This is the highest rent ever received by Prince or King from the Porthaethwy ferry.[1]

Henry VII died on 21st April, 1509.

NOTE.

We may note that the Sir William Gruffith, who is fined for his intrusion into one half of the ferry, is the Sir William Gruffith, from whom Bishop Dean take steps, about 1498, to recover for the Cathedral Church of Bangor, "the auncient right of fishynge" in "Seynt Danyell's Isle," i.e. the Skerries. (Willis, *Bangor*, p. 244.)

We may also note that we part company with the Rhingyll during Henry VII's reign. The office had apparently become unpopular, and the accounts of the Commotes are during this reign frequently rendered by "approvers." By Henry VII's Charter, of March, 1507, it is laid down that no inhabitant of the three Counties of North Wales shall be compelled to serve as Rhingyll; and the accounts of the Commotes, for this same year ending Michaelmas, 1507, and henceforward, are rendered by Bailiffs. For Charter—*Arch. Camb.*, Vol. II (1847), pp. 217 and 18. For first appearance of Bailiffs—M.A. Hen. VII, 1620 Anglesey and 1643 Caernarvonshire.

7. THE PORTHESGOB FERRY DOWN TO 1509

As we have to wait until Elizabeth's reign to locate Porthesgob it may be well to state that it lay below the present Upper Bangor, where the little hollow of Nantporth opens on to the shore, and in immediate proximity to the old weir, Gorad y Git, which latter appears to have survived just long enough for its name to have entirely displaced that of the old Bishop's ferry. On the Anglesey side the main landing place, at high water at least, was at Cadnant, but we shall hear of a second, called Porth Phillip Ddu, a name which has been completely lost. This latter we may probably locate where the footpath and roadway from Llandegfan appear in earlier days to have reached the shore, below the site of the present-day "Rhianfa." We shall find, however, that the Bishops claimed to exercise their rights of ferry over a wide area.

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[1] M.A. Hen. VII, 1621.

Our account of Porthesgob may best commence with the appearance of Bishop Matthew before Richard de Stafford and other itinerant justices, in 1350. The justices are holding an inquisition into the titles of the leading people of North Wales and the Bishop has to make good his claims. The following is one of the citations which Bishop Matthew has to meet:—

> "The Bishop by another writ in the County of Anglesey was cited to answer to the lord Prince to the plea by what warrant he claims that he and his successors have their boats at their pleasure upon the whole of their water at Porthesgob for carrying wheresoever they will and for charging for the said carriage according to the custom of the country. And that he and his successors have free transit with their boats for carrying at their pleasure upon the whole of the lord Prince's water and are free of dues in all ports of the lord Prince in North Wales and to have free passage for themselves and their servants and goods in the boats of the said lord Prince in North Wales and to be free of passagium."

The Bishop is able to produce Charters from Edward I, Edward II, and Edward III, which put him right in most respects. The Bishops have been granted freedom from toll upon their own goods, throughout the kingdom, by land and by sea. This would cover the freedom from the toll "passagium" which he claims,[1] and possibly the freedom of his boats from port dues. But in no grant is there any mention of his ferry, nor of any free passage in the Prince's boats.

In regard to the liberties claimed, for which he produces no grants by Charter, Bishop Matthew states that he and his predecessors had exercised these liberties from time beyond memory. Further, that Edward I, at the time of the conquest, had made a public proclamation that all who came into his peace should enjoy and hold, they and their successors in perpetuity, all the possessions and liberties which before had been theirs. He adds that his predecessor, Anian, had come into the King's peace, and he cites a charter from Edward I, generally conceding to Anian and his successors, the peaceful exercise and enjoyment of the rights, possessions, liberties, and customs which he and his predecessors in times past had enjoyed and exercised. Bishop Matthew, finally, asserts that he is prepared to prove that Anian had been seised of all, to which he, Matthew, now lays claim.

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[1] See Appendix.

The finding of the Court is that for all covered by his Charters, Bishop Matthew may go *sine die*, but that for the rest, for which he claims prescriptive title, a day is named for further hearing.[1]

The further hearing is not on record, but among the confirmations of the Bishop's Charters by Richard II we find that, following the proceedings before Richard de Stafford, an agreement had been come to with Bishop Matthew, which had been embodied in certain letters patent, to which the Black Prince's seal had been attached, at Beaumaris, on 8th October, 1351. In this Black Prince's charter we find the following reference to the ferry:—

> "and that the same Bishop and his successors for ever have a certain passage of theirs across the water of the Meney near the town of Bangor called Porthescop and all the commodities of whatsoever kind to their said passage pertaining the commodities and services of the said passage to us pertaining at the times of the fair on the eve and feast of the Nativity of the blessed Mary held at Beaumaris each year excepted and other customs and services there to us pertaining by law and equity from of old."[2]

Bishop Matthew thus appears to have made good his claim to his ferry as a prescriptive right enjoyed by the Bishops from time immemorial, and we have already seen, in connection with Porthaethwy, that the Bishop's ferry is in evidence in the earliest extant Anglesey Sheriff's account, and that already, in 1292, the passage is in the hands of the King on the days of the Llanfaes fairs. It can hardly be doubted that the Bishops had held their ferry in the times of the Welsh Princes, or that the handing over of the Bishop's ferry on the days of the Llanfaes fair was an established practice prior to Edward I's advent.[3]

The Black Prince's Charter makes no mention of the Bishop's claim to free passage in the Prince's boats, and it would appear that this claim had not been admitted. We shall hear much concerning a dispute between the farmers of Porthaethwy and Bishop Hugh Bellot, towards the close of the sixteenth century, and we should certainly have been told if the Bishop had claimed any such privilege at Porthaethwy.

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[1] *Rec. Caern.*, pp. 133–8.

[2] *Rec. Caern.*, p. 254.

[3] The story that the Bishops manors in Caernarvonshire and Anglesey, and the ferries of "Borthwe and Cadnant" were bestowed by Edward I, after the birth of Prince Edward in Caernarvon Castle, upon Bishop Anian, "for the office he did in Christning that Prince," is first met with in 1721, in Willis, *Bangor*. No authority is given for the story, and it can hardly be reconciled with the early records.

We have seen—under Porthaethwy—that the issues of the Bishop's ferry on the days of the Beaumaris September fair are accounted for during the first half of the fourteenth century, and that they never exceeded one half of the issues of the Porthaethwy ferry for the same year. We have also noted that, from 1352 onward, these issues are included in the round the year farm of the Porthaethwy ferry, and that the fact of this inclusion is noted up to 1385, after which date the annual accounts never again mention the Bishop's ferry. It was further noted that no grant or lease of the Porthaethwy ferry ever makes any mention of the right to occupy the Bishop's ferry on the days of the fair, but that the farmers of Porthaethwy are found to be still exercising this right at the close of the sixteenth century.

The only further information which the Ministers' accounts provide for us, regarding Porthesgob, has to be sought for in the valuations of the temporalities, made by the Excheators when vacancies occurred in the See. In this connection it is well to note that Edward III, in 1328, conceded the claim of the Dean and Chapter that one half of the temporalities (with certain exceptions) were due to them during vacancies,[1] and that he further conceded to Bishop Matthew, in 1334, that the custody of the See during a vacancy should be in the hands of the Dean and Chapter; subject to the rendering by them of an account based upon the official valuation.[2]

No early Escheator's valuation has been met with, but, in 1348, an official Extent of the Bishop's manors and townships was made, and this served for the next fifty years as the valuation upon which the Dean and Chapter based their accounts.[3]

In this Extent we find the following entry under the Manor of Treffos: "Item they (i.e. the jury) say that there is there one water mill and it is of the value of 20s. per annum. Item a ferry per annum £4." We may also note that in one of the townships of the manor, called in the Extent "Treffelias," there occurs among the names of a group of tenants holding in villeinage, that of "Ithel borthwis," i.e. Ithel the ferryman. As compared with the value of £4 10s. od. placed upon the Porthaethwy ferry by the Extent of 1352, the annual value of £4, placed upon the Bishop's ferry, seems very high. The crossing between Porthesgob and Cadnant is twice as wide as that at Porthaethwy and much more exposed in the prevailing south-westerly winds. We have also found that the takings at

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[1] Willis, *Bangor*, p. 214.

[2] *Rec. Caern.*, pp. 255–6.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 100.

Porthesgob, on the fair-days, never exceeded one half of those at Porthaethwy. We may, perhaps, connect this relatively high value with the fact that the Bishop's boats plied over a somewhat wide range and were not confined to a mere crossing at one point.

In 1367 we have an account rendered by Dean John Lilye and the Chapter, in respect of the temporalities during the period from 8th January to 24th September, prior to their delivery on the latter date to Gervase de Castro, the new Bishop. The account merely answers so far as concerns the ferry for the proportion of the Extent value of £4 per annum due for the period of the vacancy. The Dean and Chapter take one half of this proportion in respect of the ferry, but the mill is included with the manor demesne as pertaining wholly to the Bishop and, therefore, wholly to the Prince during the period of the vacancy.[1]

We have another similar account rendered by Dean David Daron and the Chapter, for the period from 23rd June, 1398, to 19th May, 1399, between the death of the Bishop, John Swaffham, and the delivery of the temporalities to his successor, Richard Yonge. This, like the previous account, tells us nothing about the ferry except that the value still stood at the £4 placed upon it by the Extent of 1348.[2]

The fifteenth century appears to be entirely blank so far as records of the Porthesgob ferry are concerned. Neither a valuation by an Anglesey Escheator nor an account by the Dean and Chapter has been found.

8. THE LLANIDAN FERRY DOWN TO 1509

The Llanidan Ferry, like that at Abermenai, first appears in the Ministers' Accounts after Michaelmas, 1296. Hugh de Leominster's account of the lands of Eleanor deceased, shows 20s. received annually from the passage of "Thlaindon," or "Thlanidan," up to Easter, 1300; but whereas it shows expenditure each year upon the boat at Abermenai, no such expenditures are shown in connection with Llanidan.[3]

The Sheriff, De Winton, in 1302, answers for 20s. of the farm of the passage of "Lanydan."[4]

In 1303, De Dynyton, now Sheriff, accounts for 20s. of the farm of the moiety of the passage of Thlannydan by the hand of "Ior' Duy" farmer of the same, and we have similar entries in 1304, 1307, 1308, and in respect of the half year up to Easter, 1309, when the commote passes into the hands of Isabel. No expenditures upon the boat are shown in any of these accounts.[1]

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[1] M.A. 1143/25.

[2] *Rec. Caern.*, p. 231.

[3] E. 352 (Chancellor's Roll), No. 94, m. 22d.

[4] M.A. 1227/3.

Like Abermenai, this passage is not mentioned in the Extents of 1294 or 1352.

From 1360 to 1364 the Rhingyll of Menai answers for "20s. of the farm of the passage of Lanydan." In 1377 and 1378 the entry reads "20s. of the farm of the passage," and from 1379 to 1396 it is "20s. of the farm of the passage of Meney," or, "of the water of Meney."[2] There is no longer any mention of the moiety. There are no expenditures upon the boat, and in the lists of the boats, in the Chamberlains' accounts of Richard II's reign, no boat is ever shown at Llanidan.

NOTE.—Throughout the period 1377 to 1396, the Llanidan ferry is the only ferry for which the Rhingyll of Menai answers, Abermenai being accounted for under Newborough. No significance, therefore, attaches to the failure to name it.

In the first Anglesey Account after the rebellion, that for the year 1409, Deikus ap Keneryk ap Meredith is farming the office of Rhingyll for 3s. 4d., which office, the account states, "used to be demised for 101s." Deikus ap Ken and Meredith ap Ken are jointly leasing the mills of the commote, at low rents, upon the condition of repairing them; and the latter is also Senescal and Approver of Newborough. The effects of the rebellion upon the revenue are everywhere in evidence, and Deikus ap Ken's account has the entry: "Nothing of the passage of Meney."[3]

In the next extant account, that for the year 1414, Tudor ap Ken ap Meredith is Rhingyll, and is paying 10s. for the farm of the office; and Meredith ap Ken is much in evidence, farming many issues. The ferry entry reads: "Of the farm of the passage of the water of Meney he does not answer this year through failure to let." A pen has been passed through this entry and above the line there is written: "Is charged upon his account 20s. for the farm of the passage of Meney as in the roll of demises of farms of this year because Meredith ap Ken occupied the said passage upon inquiry this year." The words "as in the roll of demises of farms of this year" have in their turn been erased.[4]

In 1415 there is another Rhingyll, and his entry reads: "Of the farm of the passage of the water of Meney nothing returned

[1] M.A. 1227/4; 1227/5; 1170/5; 1227/7; 1170/6.

[2] M.A. 1149/9–1150/2; 1150/3 and 4; 1150/5 to 1152/3.

[3] M.A. 1152/4.

[4] M.A. 1152/5.

this year through failure to let." This is once more struck out, and there is written above: "And is charged upon the account for 20s. of the farm of the water of Meney because it is answered for to the King in the account of the preceding year."[1]

Our next account is that for 1419. The Rhingyll now answers "for 10s. of the farm of the passage of Llannydan thus demised to Daykus ap Ken for a term of two (years) this the first as in the roll of demises of farms of this year." We have a similar entry in 1420, the second year of the demise.[2]

In 1421 we have the entry: "For 20s. of the farm of the passage of Llannydan thus demised to Hoel ap lli and Med ap Hoel ap Gron, for a term of eight years by the Chamberlain as in the roll of demises, etc."[3]

After 1425 there is a gap of twelve years without an account.

In 1438 we are told that the passage, late demised to Hoel ap lli for 13s. 4d., is now unlet. No one would farm it. We still have the same entry in 1442.[4]

After another break in the accounts we learn that the passage of "llannedan" had been demised to William Gruffith and Hoel ap lli for twelve years, from Michaelmas, 1447, at a rent of 20s. "as in the roll of demises," etc. This lease runs its full course to the twelfth year.[5]

In 1465 the ferry is unlet. No one would take the farm, and this is the position throughout the remainder of Edward IV's reign, and up to the sixth year of Henry VII (1491).[6] The ferry had, apparently, never been farmed after 1459.

After 1491 we strike the unfortunate gap of thirteen years in the Anglesey accounts, which has occasioned us difficulty at Porthaethwy.

In 1504, we have the following entry:—

> "For 40s. of the farm of the water of Meney and llannedan alias Bon y don with its appurtenances thus demised to Res ap lli ap Ieun ap Gruff To have and to hold the aforesaid passage or ferry with all profits Commodities and emoluments whatsoever to the same passage from ancient time due and accustomed to the aforesaid Res and his assigns from the feast of Saint Michael the Archangel in the 19th year of the now King Henry VII until the end of the term of four years then next following and fully to be completed

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[1] M.A. 1152/6.
[2] M.A. 1152/7.
[3] M.A. 1152/9.
[4] M.A. 1153/4 and 5.
[5] M.A. 1153/6 to 1154/4.
[6] M.A. 1154/5 to M.A. Hen. VII, 1618, Anglesey.

> rendering therefor to the said lord King and his heirs princes of Wales annually at his exchequer of Caernarvon 20s. as before was answered and 20s. beyond of increment at the feasts of pasche and Saint Michael the Archangel equally during the aforesaid term by pledge of Robert Gruff of porthamall and Edward Gruff this year the first of his term."[1]

Rees ap Llywelyn holds, under this lease, up to Michaelmas, 1507, and as from henceforward, the "llannedan alias Bon y don" ferry is clearly upon the same footing as the other crown ferries and never fails to let at rents exceeding 40s., we may well review its history, as presented to us in the accounts, up to this point. This history very definitely divides itself into two periods.

I. Prior to Glyndŵr's rebellion.

From 1296 to the end of the fourteenth century a uniform 20s. per annum is paid to the Exchequer in respect of Llanidan. The farms of all the other ferries vary from time to time.

During the years 1303–1309 the Sheriffs return this 20s. as in respect of the farm of the moiety of the ferry, thus indicating, presumably, that as at Porthaethwy there was an interest in the ferry other than that of the King, or Prince.

In the entries relating to the farms of other ferries we frequently meet with the expression "thus demised this year," and sometimes with the addition of the words "by the lieutenant of the Justice" or "by the lieutenant (or deputy) of the Chamberlain." In the case of Llanidan the word "demised" is not used at all throughout this period, and it seems to be indicated that the letting of the ferry was not effected by the officials of the Exchequer.

There is never any purchase of a new boat, or any expenditure of any kind, by the Exchequer in connection with this ferry. In this respect Llanidan differs from all the other ferries.

In the lists of boats which appear in the Chamberlain's accounts during Richard II's reign, no boat is ever shown at Llanidan. There is no ferry at Caernarvon at this time and Tal y cafn is not named in these lists. But Tal y cafn was under a grant for life, free of rent, throughout the period in question Boats are shown at all the other ferries, including half a boat at Porthaethwy.

Must we not draw the conclusion that some party, never named in the accounts, held the Llanidan ferry, providing and

[1] M.A. Hen. VII 1619, Anglesey.

maintaining and farming his own boat but subject to an annual payment of 20s. to the Exchequer ?[1]

II. After Glyndŵr's rebellion.

The Llanidan ferry, like the others, is out of action for some years, but in 1414 we have the "Meredith ap Ken" incident, when the Exchequer finds that the ferry, though returned as unlet, has been operated, and insists upon the payment of the 20s. in this and the following year.

From this time on there is a significant change in the wording of the entry, which suggests that the ferry is now being farmed by the Chamberlain; and one is inclined to surmise that the owner of the ferry, faced by the Exchequer's insistence upon the payment of the 20s., has abandoned his rights in it. There are still no expenditures upon the boat, but this is now the case at the other ferries also.

From the termination of the lease to William Gruffith, for some thirty years or more, no one will farm the ferry. Then, after an interval, we find a complete change in the situation. From Michaelmas, 1503, the ferry is leased for 40s. and there is never again any failure to let at this or higher rents; and simultaneously with this change in the value of the ferry, we have the addition "alias Bon y don" to its title. May we not conclude that, at some date between 1491 and 1503, the ferry had been moved from a position where it no longer paid to work it, to a position where it paid satisfactorily?

We may here note that Thomas Heton, whose acquaintance we have made in connection with the Porthaethwy ferry, has the following entry in his Memorandum book, and which would appear to have been written about the close of 1505 :—

> "Iscor Bonne y don Meney—M.^{d} that there is a passage over the water which payeth by yere xxs or xls. which is in the handes of Res ap lli ap Ieun ap Gruff and hath been in his handes by the space of viij yeres or thereabouts and was letten by Mr. Robert ffrost and is answered at xxs."[2]

Thomas Heton's references to 20s. and 40s. are not very intelligible; but it would appear, both from his statement and from the wording of the entry relating to the lease of 1503, that there had been an earlier lease to Res ap lli under which the rent had been 20s. We may assume that it was the earlier lease which "was letten by Mr. Robert ffrost."

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[1] So far as concerns the failure of the accounts ever to name this party, it may be pointed out that the free tenants of Porthaethwy are never named in the accounts except in connection with the expenditure upon the boat, of which they had to pay half.

[2] M.A. Hen. VII, 1611.

The first mention of Master Robert ffrost which has been met with was upon the occasion of a visit to Beaumaris and Caernarvon, in May, 1494, by "William Stanley Knight Chamberlain of the lord King Richard Pole Knight Chamberlain of the lord Prince of North Wales Mr Robert ffrost Almoner of the said Prince and other Commissioners." This visit was for the purpose of making arrangements for the payment of a subsidy granted to Prince Arthur. In 1499 and 1500, Mr. Robert ffrost is in evidence as Supervisor of the lord Prince. We find the Deputy Chamberlain riding to Chester to lay his Declaration of Arrears before him, and sums of money are shown, in the Chamberlain's accounts, as respited by his Mandate. Nothing, unfortunately, has been traced regarding Master Robert ffrost's concern with our ferry, but it appears to be indicated that there was something exceptional about the lease to Res ap lli, which called for the intervention of a higher authority than that of the Chamberlain. The matter was settled and done with before Thomas Heton came upon the scene, and he has nothing further to say about Bon y don.[1]

One naturally turns, at this point, to what Rowlands has to say about Moelydon, in his *Antiquitates Parochiales*. Rowlands took little interest in the sea, or ships. He takes us round the boundaries of the commote of Menai and never so much as mentions the Tal y foel, or Abermenai ferries, and it is only in his conjectures regarding the derivation of the name "Porthamel" that he refers to Moelydon. He discusses various possible derivations of this name and, among others, "whether it is Porthamel, or the frequent port, from the crossing over into the island here being especially great; or lastly, whether from the small peninsula formerly there, called Moel y don, but now shut up by sand and gravel, it be named Porth ym Moel." He prefers the "last conjecture," and holds that Porthamel was originally the name of the ferry, and was later imposed upon the whole township, just as "Porthaethwy received its name from a similar ferry."[2] It is the township of Porthamel, in which Rowlands is interested, and more particularly that part of it which he holds to have been the capital manor of Llowarch ap Bran; and he has nothing further to say about the ferry.

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[1] The above references to Master Robert ffrost are drawn from M.A. Hen. VII 1595 and 1596. The subsidy appears to have been paid in seven annual instalments, and the visit of the Commissioners continues to be recorded. It is possible that the early holder of the Llanidan ferry had not relinquished his rights, but had, after 1415, arrived at some compromise with the Exchequer regarding the farm. In this case, it may have fallen to Mr. Robert ffrost, after the ferry had not been operated for some thirty or forty years, to pronounce that the early rights had lapsed to the Prince.

[2] *Arch. Camb.*, Vol. IV (1849), p. 39.

Had we any grounds for associating the ferry with Llowarch ap Bran and his descendants we might well surmise that our Meredith ap Kenric, of 1414, was the "Meredydd ap Cynvric" of the Porthamel family, whom Rowlands dates about 1400;[1] and that it was his own ferry, which he had himself tried to work, when it could not be let. Again, when we find—as we shall—that Henry VIII apparently cancels Henry VII's last lease of the Bonydon ferry, and lets it at a lower rent to Meredith ap Thomas ap Meredith, and leaves it in this Meredith's hands throughout his reign, we might be inclined to conclude that this was the "Meredith ap Thomas ap Meredith" whom Rowlands in his table dates 1475,[1] but elsewhere shows witnessing a deed in 1514,[2] and that Henry VIII, by his action, was recognising the early association of the family with the ferry. This may well have been the case, but we find no support for any such view in Rowlands' writings. He had clearly met with no evidence of there having ever been any interest in the ferry other than that of the Prince or King, and he evidently held that the ferry had always been located at Moelydon. For the rest, if we accept the evidence of the Ministers' Accounts, we must reject Rowlands' opinion that the ferry had earlier borne the name "Porthamel"; and we must look for a position to which the name "Llanidan" could reasonably have been applied.

In this connection we may turn once more to Rowlands and note what he has to say regarding the crossing of the Straits by the Romans. He expresses the opinion that they crossed "near Porthamel, betwixt a Place called Pwll y fuwch and Llanidan" and that "their Foot landed in their flat-bottom'd vessels near the said Pwll y fuwch where there is a place call'd Pant yr yscraphie to this day."[3] A Llanidan estate map, of about 1750, shows a field bearing the name "Pant Ysgraffia."[4] It lies upon the shore, just under a mile to the westward of the Moel y don landing pier, and within the parish of Llanidan. One gathers that this part of the Straits is no longer favoured as the crossing place of the Romans, and we may venture, in any case, to suggest that the early Llanidan ferry offers a much more probable origin for the name " Pant yr yscraphie." Richard Llwyd renders the name "inlet of the ferry-boats,'[1] and if we may apply to the Llanidan bight, upon the shore of which, near its eastern end, the field in question lies, we find a most likely place for the ferry, where the two roads come down to the water's edge, that on the Anglesey side, a little to the eastward of Llanidan Church, and that on the Caernarvonshire side, beneath the point upon which Llanfairisgaer Church stands. The two old churches render it fairly certain that these two roads must have existed from early days.

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[1] *Arch. Camb.*, Vol. IV (1849), p. 285.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 114.

[3] Rowlands, *Mona*, 1723, p. 98.

[4] Information supplied by Mr. E. Neil Baynes by kind permission of Lord Boston.

Another possible position for the early ferry would be where an old road comes down to the shore at Barras, a mile and a half further west, but still within the parish of Llanidan. We shall find an unauthorised ferry plying here, in 1820, and landing its passengers, upon the Caernarvonshire side below Plas Brereton, where the Ordnance Survey, of 1841, marks "Ferry-house." Maps, however, afford no indication that any road ever led to this latter point, from inland.

If we favour Barras we must abandon our claim to "Pant yr yscraphie." On the other hand, the establishment of a ferry at Caernarvon, in 1426, might well have led to the final collapse of a ferry only a mile away crossing to and from Barras; while it is not easy to understand why a ferry should be quite unable to pay its way between Llanidan and Llanfairisgaer, and at once prove a success at Moelydon. If we hold that the field "Pant Ysgraffia" was the precise landing place of the ferry, and that it was not permissible to move this landing, even a short distance, then silting might conceivably have occasioned the failure of the ferry.

One is tempted to regard the Prior of Beddgelert as one of the most likely to have held the early ferry. When one recalls Bishop Anian's statement that the priory was the resort for English and Welsh travellers, "for those going from Ireland and North Wales into England," among others,[2] and remembers that the Prior had a house in Llanidan and considerable possessions in the parish, and that the churches and rectories of both Llanidan and Llanfairisgaer were appropriated to the Priory, one may well hold that no one was more likely than the Prior to have established a boat upon the Straits and to have received some such grant as the early holder would appear to have possessed.

There is no known Extent of the Temporalities of the Priory. But, if one could trace an Escheator's account, at any date during the fourteenth century, the required information should be available. The Anglesey Escheator does render an account headed "Temporalia Prioris de Bethkellard," in 1438. But it is, unfortunately, only a correction of his account rendered the previous year, in which he had wrongly returned as "temporalia," certain lands held by the late Prior "Daicus ap Kejelyn" in the township of "llannaden." He has now received a "writ of the King" directing immediate restitution to "Gruffith" now Prior, and amends his account accordingly.[1] The previous year's accounts are missing, and an account of this date would, perhaps, in any case have been too late for our purpose. No particulars of these temporalities have been traced of an earlier date than 16 Elizabeth (1574), when they were sold to Lord Chesney. Surveys were made and inquisitions held at Beaumaris and Caernarvon, in this year, and full particulars are given. The Anglesey Schedule comprises five tenements and a large number of rents, ranging from 2d. to 3s. 4d., all in the township of "Tree yrbeirth." The tenements are "Maes Arge"—"Tithin y Rivn"—"tethen Athe ap David"—"Tithin y prior"—and "Tithin yskibor." The Caernarvonshire Schedule, commencing with the site of the late Priory "voc' Tuthin y llan als dict y priordie," is much more extensive.[2] We have to note that the "Tyddyn y Prior" of the present day appears to be situated "where the ruins (now called Merddyn y Prior) near Blochdy" were placed by Rowlands,[3] and that, if this marks the position of the Prior's house in Llanidan, it is considerably nearer to Barras than to where the road reaches the shore below Llanidan Church. Should the Prior's title to the ferry be established we might thus still be in doubt as to it location.

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[1] Llwyd, *Poems*, p. 172.

[2] Jenkins, *Beddgelert*, p. 94.

Here we must leave the unsolved problems of the early Llanidan ferry.

9. THE CAERNARVON FERRY DOWN TO 1509

The early Extent of the Manor of Caernarvon, prior to its delivery to the new burgesses by Edward I, is recited in the accounts of some of the Rhingylls of Is-Gwyrfai, in Edward III's reign, just as that of the Abbot's borough of Aberconwy is recited in the accounts of Arllechwedd Isaf, of the same period.

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[1] M.A. 1153/4.

[2] E. 318/2310 (Exchequer Augmentation Office. Particulars for grants of Crown Lands).

[3] *Arch. Camb.*, Vol. III (1848), p. 166.

Among the many items of this Extent we find the customs of the port valued at 20s. per annum but no mention of a ferry.[1]

In the Chamberlains' Accounts, which are to be found in the Pipe Rolls, from 14 Ed. I to 29 Ed. I, there are two ferry entries. In 17 Ed. I (1289), 35s. is shown as received from Nicholas de Colleshale for the farm of the passage;[2] and three years later, 40s. from John de Keleshale, for the same farm.[3] The fair tolls are accounted for each year, from 1295 to 1300, but there is no mention of the ferry.[4]

From 1304 to 1320 the accounts usually show a sum of 60s. as received from the farm "of the passage," or "of the boat of the passage," or "of the boat assigned for the passage and for carrying stones for the works of the Castle."

In 1305 the Chamberlain's account shows, as received through the bailiffs, "60s. for the farm of the passage."[5] But the Chamberlain claims the refund of this 60s. The boat, he states, had been damaged at the beginning of the year and tardily repaired, and after repair had been assigned by the Justiciar to the works of the Castle. It had not been farmed and no 60s. had been received.[6]

In 1307 the bailiffs state that they do not answer for the farm of the boat because it had been assigned to the works of Beaumaris Castle.[7]

In 1316 the Chamberlain accounts for "60s. of the farm of one boat assigned for the passage there on Monday in each week and also for carrying stones for the works of the castle there."[8]

In 1321 his entry reads: "Of the farm of the boat of the passage nothing this year because no one would take that farm nor could anything be levied therefrom."[9] The bailiffs, in this same year, say "they do not answer for the farm of the ferry-boat because no farmer would take it this year nor did they receive any profits therefrom because the said boat is wholly used for carrying stones and other necessaries for the works of the Castle."[10]

[1] M.A. 1171/7 to 10.

[2] E. 372/136, m. 28.

[3] E. 372/138, m. 25d.

[4] E. 372/146.

[5] M.A. 1211/2.

[6] M.A. 1211/1. Allowances claimed by Chamberlain, covering three years, Mich., 1302, to Mich., 1305.

[7] M.A. 1170/5.

[8] M.A. 1211/7.

[9] M.A. 1212/5.

[10] M.A. 1170/13.

There are similar entries for the next two years, and then there is no further mention of a ferry, or a ferry-boat, in the Caernarvon accounts for more than a century.

When we turn to the lists of the royal boats which figure in the Chamberlains' accounts during Richard II's reign, we find one boat shown at Caernarvon during the years 1376–1379. For the following seven years there is none, but, in 1386, we have the note "one boat bought as appears among the particulars of the works of Caernarvon this year." This boat figures in the list until 1396, when two are shown, ad we again have a note "one boat bought as appears by the particulars of the works of Caernarvon."[1]

The Chamberlains' accounts show that very considerable expenditure was being incurred upon the Castle, and upon the town gates, quays, and mills, during Richard II's reign. It seems probably that the boats at Caernarvon, at this time, were being used in connection with these works. There are Bailiffs' accounts for nineteen out of the twenty-two years of Richard II's reign, and they do not mentioned the ferry.[2]

The evidence thus indicates that there was no ferry at Caernarvon when Edward I planted his new borough and castle there, and that, if any real attempt was then made to establish one, it met with little success. It is clear that little importance was attached to the ferry services of the so-called ferry-boat, which also carried stones for the works of the Castle. The Abermenai and Llanidan ferries, apparently, sufficed for the western half of the Straits at this time. We are told that already, in these early days, the Caernarvon market day was Saturday, and that at Newborough, Tuesday; so we cannot connect the crossing "on Monday in each week" with either of these.[3]

On 10th May, 1410 (11 Hen. IV), Prince Henry grants the ferries of Porthaethwy and Caernarvon to William Halley, for the term of his life, up to the value of 100s. per annum. Halley is to account to the Exchequer at Caernarvon for any surplus above this amount.[4]

From 1409 to 1425 there are Bailiffs' accounts for all but three of the years, but they do not mention the ferry.[5]

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[1] M.A. 1305/17 and 18; 1214/6 to 12; 1305/19 and 20; 1215/1 to 8.

[2] M.A. Bundles, 1172 to 1175.

[3] Lewis, *Boroughs*, p. 171.

[4] Pat. Roll, 1 Hen. VI, pt. 2, m. 21, recites and confirms these Letters.

[5] M.A. 1175/7 to 1177/4.

In 1426, however, we find an addendum tacked on at the end of the Bailiffs' account, after their balance has been struck, which thus reads :—

> "And they owe 19 li 19s. 9d. In addition to which they are charged for 7s. of the farm of the passage of the water of Caernarvon appropriated anew thus demised to William Halley p.a. for a term of 20 years this the first as in the Roll of demises of farms of this year. And now they owe 20 li 6s. 9d."[1]

Halley had not paid his 7s., up to the time of audit.

The earliest account for Porthaethwy, subsequent to the grant of 1410 to William Halley, is that for the year 1414. This indicates that he was receiving from Porthaethwy alone all that he was entitled to under his grant, and that he was paying 6s. 8d. a year as the farm of the surplus. We may conclude that Halley found that he had nothing to gain by establishing a boat at Caernarvon, and that he did not do so. He has now been given a 20 years' lease of the Caernarvon ferry, at the rent of 7s. quite apart from his original grant for life, which has presumably, so far as it concerned Caernarvon, been cancelled. William Halley was a burgess of Caernarvon, one of the bailiffs in 1422, and is subsequently to be met with holding responsible positions. He is in evidence paying his 7s. a year for the ferry up till 1437,[2] after which we strike a gap of eleven years in the accounts.

In 1448 we learn that David Moyle and Ieun Cragh have been holding "the passage of the water of Seynt" ; but that it is now leased for 20 years to Thomas Bulkeley, William Bradford, and Thomas Len', at a rent of 9s.[3] This lease is, perhaps, surrendered when Prince Edward becomes Prince of Wales, in 1454.

In 1458 the passage has been demised for three years to William Bradford, at a rent of 21s. 8d., by grant of the Prince.[4]

In 1461 the passage is not accounted for by the bailiffs, owing to its inclusion in a large comprehensive farm, referred to as the "Farm of Aberffrowe," held at this time by Henry Bolde, of Conway, at a rent of £130.[5]

In 1464 the "Farm of Aberffrowe" is held by John Moyle (or Moile) and a reference to this farm shows our ferry figuring as the "passage of Tallevoyle." This is the first time we have met with this name, which does not appear in the Bailiffs accounts for another forty years.[1]

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[1] M.A. 1177/5. "de firma passagii aque de Caern de novo appriuat sic dimiss," etc.

[2] M.A. 1178/6.

[3] M.A. 1179/1.

[4] M.A. 1180/1.

[5] M.A. 1180/3.

In 1474 the bailiffs once more answer for the ferry, which is now separately demised to John Moyle, at a rent of 21s.[2]

In 1481 it is held by lli ap Gr' ap Ieun Moile, for 13s. 4d.; and the same farmer holds it, for the next six years, at the low rent of 10s.[3]

In 1489 and 1490, David Tewe holds it, for 13s. 4d.[4]

In 1491 lli ap Gr' ap Ieun Moil receives a four-year lease, at 13s. 4d.[5]

In 1496 "the passage or ferie of the water of Seynt" is let to "Richard Sclater vicar of the Church," for 13s. 4d.[6]

In 1503, Ithell ap Thomas occupies the passage, at the rent of 13s. 4d.[7]

In 1504 "the farm of the passage or Ferie of the water of Seynt called Tallevoill" is demised, "with all profits Commodities and emoluments whatsoever to the said passage pertaining," to Robert Gruffith his heirs and assigns for a term of 12 years from the previous Michaelmas, paying "13s. 4d. as before was answered and 9s. beyond of increment," by pledge of Richard Peeke and Res ap lli ap Ieun ap Gruff. Total rent 22s. 4d.[8]

The wording of this lease is almost the same as that of "llannedan alias Bonydon" to Res ap lli, in this same year; but the word "pertaining" here takes the place of the words "from ancient time due and accustomed," in the lease of Bonydon.

It seems probable that the lessee is Robert Gruffith, of Porthamel, who, on his part, stands as pledge for Res ap lli at Bonydon. He is returned in the accounts as the farmer of the ferry, up to Michaelmas, 1507;[9] but the Anglesey Escheator, this year, renders an account of the estate of "Robert Gruffith of Porthamyll," and gives the date of his death as the 24th October, 1505.[10] He is the first person to be thus associated with the township of Porthamel, whose trail has been crossed in the Ministers' Accounts.

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[1] M.A. 1180/4. For brief particulars of the "Farm of Aberffrowe," see under Abermenai, which is also included.

[2] M.A. 1181/5.

[3] M.A. 1181/6, to M.A. Hen. VII, 1634 Caernarvon.

[4] M.A. Hen. VII, 1635 Caernarvon.

[5] M.A. Hen. VII, 1636 Caernarvon.

[6] M.A. Hen. VII, 1638 Caernarvon.

[7] M.A. Hen. VII, 1639 Caernarvon.

[8] M.A. Hen. VII, 1640 Caernarvon.

[9] M.A. Hen. VII, 1643 Caernarvon.

[10] M.A. Hen. VII, 1620 Anglesey.

In 1510, Ithell ap Thomas is holding the ferry on a four years' lease, under Letters, dated at Caernarvon, 27th October, 1507. This is the last letting of Henry VII's reign, and the rent, 23s. 4d., is the highest ever paid for the Caernarvon, or Tal-y-foel ferry prior to the nineteenth century.[1]

10. THE ABERMENAI FERRY DOWN TO 1509

The name Abermenai is, at the present day, commonly applied to the narrow line of sand and low sand-hills extending from Anglesey across the western mouth of the Menai Straits, and restricting the actual opening to the sea to a narrow channel only 1,100 feet in width at high water, called the Gap. Edward I's officials early give this narrow spit of sand, with its enlarged extremity curving back upon itself and forming the southernmost point of Anglesey, the name of South Croke, which later becomes South Crook ; and, thanks to the protection of the Caernarvon Bar, this sandy spit appears to have remained almost unchanged throughout the years. It was breached by a succession of heavy storms, in the late sixties of last century, and is so shown in the Admiralty Chart of 1872, but the breach was was successfully closed by the Caernarvon Harbour Trust, and the Trust now maintains defensive works.[2]

In earlier days the name Abermenai had a wider significance and was applied, more or less generally, to the western end of the Straits. In 1539, Sir Richard Bulkeley, then Chamberlain, together with three others, received instructions from Henry VIII to survey the coast and to advise as to its defence. In accordance with these instructions, Sir Richard sent to Cromwell the names of all "havyns bays Crickes and Rodes" in the three shires. Here we find "The havyn of aber meyney enteryng att the barre of Caernarvon in the Sowth Croke." The only other havens in Anglesey and Caernarvonshire, in this list, are Pwllheli, Holyhead, Beaumaris, and Conway. In a letter, however, we find Sir Richard expressing the opinion that a fortress should be made at South Crooke, in the haven mouth of Caernarvon. He thus appears to treat the haven of Abermenai and the haven of Caernarvon as one and the same.[3]

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[1] M.A. Hen. VIII, 4909 Caernarvon.

[2] Caern. Harbour Trust, *Report of the Bar and Channels Committee*, pp. 28 and 29.

[3] Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic, Hen. VIII, Vol. XIV, pt. 1, Nos. 732, 802, and 803, and E. 163 (Exchequer K.R. Miscellanea), Bundle II, No. 38. The latter is the list of "havyns," etc.

John Leland, writing about the same time, says that "South Croke is a 3 miles above Cairarvon" and adds the following statement: "South Croke is the very point of Abremeney, The name of Abremeney is not passing a mile above Cairarvon, yet the water of sum is caullid Meney til Poullthelly."[1] This is somewhat obscure, but the name "Abremeney" like "Meney" is applied to the water, and for the "very point of Abremeney" we may perhaps read the "very end of Abremeney." One takes Leland to mean that the name of Abermenai extended from a mile above Caernarvon to where the Menai passed into the sea at South Croke.

The great desiderata of the early port were a good anchorage and a well sheltered beach of smooth hard sand upon which vessels could lie to load, or discharge, their cargoes. Hardly anywhere on our coasts are these requirements more fully met than just within the "Gap" at Abermenai, with the Foryd on the one hand and the sands of the Traeth Melynog, stretching up to the mouth of the Braint, on the other.[2] As regards the ferry, we have at Abermenai the narrowest crossing on the Straits, sheltered from north, south, and west, free of all rocks and sand-banks, and most conveniently linking a great part of Anglesey with central and south Caernarvonshire. One cannot doubt that there would have been a ferry at Abermenai from very early times.

We are told that Gruffydd ap Cynan (A.D. 1055–1137) paid several visits to the port, or harbour, of Abermenai, during his earlier days, when he was seeking to recover the kingdom of Gwynedd, of which he was the rightful heir; and that when he died he left to Queen Angharad, his wife, "half his goods and two parts of land, and the harbour of Abermenai."[3] We must note, however, that Sir J. E. Lloyd renders the concluding portion of this bequest: "the profits of the port and ferry of Aber Menai."[4]

Edward I, after the conquest, bestowed the commote of Menai, among other lands, upon Queen Eleanor; and following her death, in 1290, allowed her lands to remain in the hands of her executors until 1296.[5] Roger de Pulesdon, the Sheriff of

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[1] Leland, *Itinerary*, p. 86.

[2] The port of Abermenai must have been the port of the manor of Rhosyr. When the burgesses of Newborough are building their windmill, in 1305, they bring the timber from Lleyn, and the mill-stones from Mathafarn, by sea to Southcroke. The goods would doubtless be discharged upon the sands near the Braint estuary. M.A. 1170/3.

[3] *Gr. ap Cynan*, p. 157.

[4] Lloyd, *Hist. Wales*, Vol. II, p. 469.

[5] E. 352 (Chancellor's Roll), No. 94, m. 22d.

Anglesey, consequently does not account for this commote, in 1292; and though the Extent of 1294 does deal with the commote, it unfortunately makes no mention of the ferries serving it.

From Michaelmas, 1296, to Easter, 1300, Hugh de Leominster, the Chamberlain, renders an account of the lands "which were Eleanors" in Snowdon and Anglesey.[1] Here we find a rent of £4 received annually from the passage of "Abermeney," and small expenditures incurred each year upon the boat.

In 1301 the Principality is granted to Prince Edward, and the Sheriff of Anglesey now accounts for the commote of Menai. In 1302 a rent of £3 is paid in respect of the passage of "Abermene"; and, in 1303, the passage of "Southcroke" is held at this same rent by "Tegwaret ap Madoc and his fellows." The same farmers pay £3 10s. 0d. for the ferry, in 1304.[2]

Among the petitions presented to the Prince and his Council at Kennington, and laid before the Parliament at Westminster, in 1305, is one from the burgesses of Newborough, late of Llanfaes, asking that they may have the passage of "Southcroke," and offering a rent of £5.[3] They are referred to the Justice, whose business it is to arrange such matters; but they do not get the ferry. Tegwaret and his fellows go one better. There are no accounts for 1305 and 1306, but, during the following three years, Tegwaret ap Madoc figures as the farmer of the ferry at a rent of £5 13s. 4d.,[4] a rent only equalled at this time by the Conway ferry. Small expenditures upon the boat continue, and the Sheriff remarks, in 1307, that it is maintained at the King's cost.

In 1309 the rent is only accounted for to the Caernarvon Exchequer until Easter. Edward II now grants the commote of Menai to Isabel, and we have no more accounts of the commote for the next fifty years, "because in the hands of the Queen."

The Extent of 1352, like that of 1294, makes no mention of either of the ferries serving the commote of Menai. We note, however, under "Rosfaire," that "Ieuan ap Ath ap Teg" and three others are named as occupying a gavel called "gauell Porthwisyon," at a rent of 12s. 8d.[5] We may translate "gauell Porthwisyon" as "holding of the ferrymen"; and it would appear to be indicated that, in earlier days, the Abermenai ferry had been worked under similar conditions to those which the framers of the Extent of 1294 found to have existed at Llanfaes.

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[1] E. 352 (Chancellor's Roll), No. 94, m. 22d.

[2] M.A. 1227/3, 4, and 5.

[3] *Rec. Caern.*, p. 218.

[4] M.A. 1170/5; 1227/7; 1170/6.

[5] *Rec. Caern.*, p. 83.

In 1360, Ievan ap Iorwerth, the Rhingyll of Menai, renders an account of the commote which, he states, has come into the hands of the Prince by the death of Isabel, Queen of England. We now find the passage of Southcroke answered for in the account of Newborough, which is rendered by two men, styled farmers, and consists but of two items. The first is the farm of the demesne lands, burgages, places and mill, and is demised to the community of Newborough for a rent of £19 13s. 4d. The second comprises the pleas and perquisites and the tolls of the borough, together with the passage of Southcroke, and is demised to the accounting farmers and two others, at a rent of £15 10s. 0d.

For a number of years, subsequently, the account is rendered by the bailiffs; and in some years the community of Newborough holds both farms, and at one time pays a rent of £20 per annum for each. By 1385, however, the rents have fallen to £15 for each farm and, from now onward, the account is rendered by farmers, who themselves hold both farms, at rents of which the highest is £15 1s. 8d. This carries us to 1397, when, as has been noted before, the whole county of Anglesey is granted to William Lescrop.[1]

From 1359 to 1397 we thus have no indication as to the actual rent paid for the ferry. The lists of the boats, which are given in the Chamberlains' Accounts of Richard II's reign, show a royal boat at Southcroke throughout.[2] No expenditures have been met with, and we may assume that the farmer now had to keep the boat in repair.

After Glyndŵr's rebellion we first meet with an account of the commote of Menai in the year 1409. Meredith ap Kenric now accounts as Senescal and Approver of Newborough, but has received nothing from the passage of Southcroke.[3]

In 1414 the ferry figures in the Rhingyll's account as leased to one Hugh Huls, for twelve years (from Michaelmas, 1413), at a rent of 26s. 8d. Despite the low rent, Hugh Huls often fails to pay, and his arrears are frequently respited. Thomas Walton, who has just ceased to be Chamberlain, is associated with Hugh Huls in the farm of the ferry during the last years of his term.[4]

At Beaumaris, under the very walls of the castle, we find stringent restrictions imposed, at this time, regarding the transport of Welshmen to Anglesey. We meet with no mention of any such restriction at Porthaethwy, or at remote Abermenai; but both ferries are in the hands of Englishmen, and due precautions are doubtless being taken.

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[1] M.A. 1149/9 to 1152/3.

[2] M.A. 1305/17–20; 1214/5–1215/8.

[3] M.A. 1152/4.

[4] M.A. 1152/5 to 1153/3.

After a gap of several years in the accounts we find that, on 14th October, 1437, the two passages of Southcroke and Porthaethwy have been granted to one Thomas Aldenham for life, free of rent; and that in August, 1442, a certain Robert Spicer is associated with Thomas Aldenham in the grant. They hold their grant until 1449, but in November of this year an Act of Resumption brings both ferries back into the King's hands.[1] Instructions regarding this Act of Resumption appear to have miscarried and, in 1453, we find that no rents had been paid for the last three years, and that it was not known who had occupied the ferry. The rent of the ferry is now fixed at £4 10s. 0d., and Howel ap Gruffith ap Howel holds the ferry at this rent in 1453; and, in 1454, has been given a twenty-four years' lease, as from Michaelmas, 1450.[2]

In 1461, Howel's lease is apparently merged in a very large composite farm, held by one Robert Bolde, at a rent of £130, under the title "Farm of Aberffrowe."[3]

In 1464 the "Farm of Aberffrowe" is held by John Moile, and comprises "the manors or lordships of Aberfrowe, Penros, Aber, stewardship of Neuburgh, portership of Rosfaire, the vill of Nantmawre, lordship of Penmayn and llysmayn, passages and ferries of Conneway and Cavengronant, with all ffyssherdes (fish-yards) in and upon the water of Conneway, the passages and ferries of Southcroke and Tallevoyle, with all rents of assize, courts, pleas of courts of piepowder and great tourns, and other commodities to the same manors, lordships, vills, stewardship, passages and ferries and ffyssherdes belonging." The vill of Penlassok, over against Conway, was also included.[4]

In 1465 we find that Penlassok and the two Conway ferries have been taken out of the farm, and that Moile's rent is reduced to £120.[5]

After Michaelmas, 1467, John Moile holds the ferries of

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[1] M.A. 1153/4; 1153/6; 1153/7a. From the time of the grant to Thomas Aldenham, the Rhingyll of Dindaethwy becomes accountable for the Southcroke ferry, and though the association of the two ferries in one grant comes to an end in 1449, this arrangement continues, and henceforward Southcroke is answered for under Porthaethwy.

[2] M.A. 1154/1 and 2.

[3] M.A. 1180/3.

[4] This statement is taken from the account of the Rhingyll of Creuddyn under "Vill of Penlassok," M.A. 1180/4.

[5] M.A. 1154/5.

"Southcroke and Tallevoyle" as part of a much smaller farm "charged in the account of Penrôs" at a rent of £47 13s. od.;[1] and, in 1473, he still holds our two ferries as a part of the farm of "Penmaynllismayn," at a rent of £11 15s. od.[2]

In 1474 the Rhingyll of Dindaethwy once more accounts for Southcroke, and we find that the passage which "was wont to be demised for £4 10s. od.," is now being farmed by Lli ap Gruff ap Ievan Moyle and Wm. ap Dd. ap Gruff, for 60s.[3] Wm. ap Dd. ap Gruff has a seven years' lease, from 1474 to 1481, at a rent of 61s.;[4] and he is still holding the ferry in 1486 and 1487, but at the increased rent of 66s. 8d.[5] In 1489, one Thomas Scarisbrigge has a four years' lease also at 66s. 8d.;[6] and, in 1502 and 1503, the ferry is held by an unnamed farmer at 67s. 8d.[7] During the following four years, David ap William holds the ferry at a rent of 70s.,[8] and in 1508, Howel ap Lli ap Ieun ap Gruff is paying a rent of 77s. 8d.[9] Henry VII's ministers, from 1485 onwards, have clearly been working up the rent, but they do not succeed in bringing it to a higher figure than £3 17s. 8d., which suggests that the Abermenai ferry was not carrying the traffic of earlier days. We may probably find the explanation of this in the ferry-boat at Tal y foel.

Turning back a few years we must note an entry which is found in the account, for the year 1493, of Richard Pole, Knight, the Chamberlain. Under "Repairs" we find an item headed "House of the passage of Southcroke," which reads as follows: "In moneys paid to several carpenters and masons for costs and expenses incurred upon the house of the passage of Southcroke together with sundry materials purchased for the same as appears by the particulars rendered and examined upon this account—67s. 8d."[10]

There was thus a ferry-house at Abermenai, prior to 1493; and the employment of masons upon its repair seems to indicate that it was a stone building. We shall meet with references to it, from time to time. It appears to have been the only ferry-house upon the Straits, at any period, which was crown property.

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[1] M.A. 1181/1 and 2.

[2] M.A. 1155/3.

[3] M.A. 1155/4.

[4] M.A. 1155/5 and 6.

[5] M.A. Hen. VII, 10315 and 16.

[6] M.A. Hen. VII, 1618.

[7] M.A. Hen. VII, 1610 (*sic*).

[8] M.A. Hen. VII, 1619 and 20.

[9] M.A. Hen. VII, 1621.

[10] M.A. Hen. VII, 1594.

CHAPTER II

THE FERRIES IN THE EARLY MODERN PERIOD

I. THE CONWAY AND TAL-Y-CAFN FERRIES IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

HENRY VII died on 21st April, 1509, and on 13th March, 1510 (1 Hen. VIII), by Letters, dated at Caernarvon, the vill of Penlassok and the two ferries are granted to Ralph Davenport, one of the clerks of the King's granary, for life, at a rent of £4.[1]

This does not affect Morgan Holand's lease, nor that of Edward Salesbury, who holds Penlassok at a rent of £3 4s. 4d. But it leads to certain complications of the accounts through which the £20 rent of the ferries, and the £3 4s. 4d. from Penlassok, continue to be passed. At first these sums are shown by the Bailiffs of Conway and the Bailiff of Creuddyn as paid to the Chamberlain, who, on his part, enters them as receipts, but claims allowance of £19 4s. 4d. paid to Ralph Davenport.[2] Later, the adjustment is made at Conway, £4 being paid to Caernarvon as the rent of the combined farm, and £16 to Ralph Davenport, who also draws the rent of Penlassok.

In 1528 the rent of Penlassok is increased to £4 by the mandate of the Surveyor General of the King's lands; and in the accounts of this same year the name of Edward Weldon makes its appearance as that of the occupier of Penlassok and the ferries. Edward Weldon now draws the money hitherto paid to Davenport, but there is some question as to his right to do so. The Bailiff of Creuddyn, in 1529, states that Weldon claims to have Letters of the King, but it is evident that nothing is known about these letters locally, and Weldon is returned, year by year, as having paid £4 to the Chamberlain but as owing the remaining £20.[3]

By Michaelmas, 1533, Weldon's arrears amount to £120, but the accounts of this year show these arrears as "placed in allowance" by mandate of the Surveyor General, and also as the result of Letters of the King, the tenor of which is given.

These Letters are said to be dated at Caernarvon, 4th July 1532, and recite earlier Letters, also said to have been dated at Caernarvon, 22nd December, 1526, and by which the vill of Penlassok and the two ferries were granted to Ralph Davenport and "Edward Weldon Clerk Controller of our hospice" to occupy by themselves or their sufficient deputies during their lives and that of the longer liver of them, at the annual rent of £4. The later Letters now state that Davenport had died, leaving Weldon in possession, and that Weldon had returned the earlier Letters to be cancelled, and that the King, in consideration of his good and faithful services, had now granted the same premises, and upon the same terms, to Edward Weldon and Elizabeth his wife.[1]

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[1] M.A. Henry VIII, 4915 Caernarvon.

[2] M.A. Henry VIII, 5419. Acct. of William Gruffith, Esq., Chamberlain.

[3] M.A. Henry VIII, 4939 and following.

We are not afforded any further explanation of the difficulties which had arisen in connection with Edward Weldon. It would rather appear as if the Chamberlain had been made to shoulder the responsibility for the failure to issue, at an earlier date, Letters, the authority for which had not reached him.

For the next two years the Bailiffs show the receipt of £20 for the ferries and, incidentally, state that they were thus demised to Richard Peeke. They now claim allowance of the whole amount for the use of Edward Weldon, while the Bailiff of Creuddyn remits the £4 to Caernarvon.[2]

From 1536 onwards we hear no more of the £20. The Conway Bailiffs, henceforward, state that the Bailiff of Creuddyn accounts for the £4, as the rent of the combined farm.[3]

The Weldons were clearly unknown personally in these parts. The Penlassok entry has added to it, in 1553, the words "which same Edward Weldon and his wife still survive so far as the auditor knows." Their names continue to figure in the accounts, up to 1563, though another grant of the premises had been made twenty-two years earlier, of which no notification had apparently been sent to Caernarvon.[4]

On 12th July, 1541 (33 Hen. VIII), by Letters Patent, under the great seal, Penlassok and the two ferries were granted to Anthony Weldon, clerk of the King's larder, for life, in as full degree as Edward Weldon and Elizabeth his wife, parents of the said Anthony, had held them and at the same rent. Anthony had been permitted to return these Letters into the Chancery, to be cancelled, and on 19th January, 1545 (36 Hen. VIII), by Letters Patent, under the great seal, the same premises were granted, and at the same rent, to the said Anthony for the term of 40 years from Michaelmas, 1544.[5]

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[1] M.A. Hen. VIII, 4948 Caernarvon.

[2] M.A. Hen. VIII, 4949 and 4951 Caernarvon.

[3] M.A. Hen. VIII, 4952 Caernarvon.

[4] M.A. Ph. & Mary, 400 Caernarvon, and Eliz., 2991 Caernarvon.

[5] L.R.I., Vol. 213. (N. Wales, Vol. 2), fo. 337. The earliest Letters are recited in the later.

The grant to Edward and Elizabeth Weldon is the last we meet with under the seal of the Caernarvon Exchequer. We have already found that all matters concerning farms and rents have passed into the hands of the Surveyor General, and, when we come to Edward VI's reign, we find that the Bailiffs no longer account to the Chamberlain, but to the Receiver General. The Chamberlain, it would now appear, has ceased to have any concern with the land revenue, or its collection.

Anthony Weldon's forty year term would carry him to 1584, but he receives a further extension of this term, in 1565.

By Letters Patent, dated 7th July, 7 Elizabeth, the Queen grants to her beloved servant, Anthony Weldon, "now one of the Clerks of the Controlment of our Hospice," the same premises, and at the same rent, for a further term of thirty years from Michaelmas, 1584.[1]

There is one further grant to be noted during Elizabeth's reign.

By Letters Patent of 12th October, 1590, the Queen grants Penlassok and the two ferries, together with certain premises in Kent and Northampton, to William Payne, one of the valets of her chamber, for twenty-one years from the end of Anthony Weldon's term. The rent of Penlassok and the ferries remains at £4 per annum.[2]

Payne's term would not commence until 1614. His name is never mentioned in the Accounts. Anthony Weldon's name first appears after the grant of 1565, and still figures in an account in 1627. They both clearly disposed of their grants to others, and were unknown in these parts, but thanks to a dispute in connection with which petitions were lodged, one with the Star Chamber and the other with the Lord Chancellor, we make the acquaintance of the party to whom Anthony Weldon had conveyed his interest. Both petitions must have been sent in between July, 1541, when Anthony Weldon received his grant for the term of his life, and January, 1545, when this was exchanged for a grant for a term of forty years.

The Petition of Robert Apewe

"To the King

Humbly complayning shewyth unto your highness Robert Apewe of Penthrem in the Countie of Carnarvon gentilman That where as one Anthonye Weldon, gentilman was seasyd in his demeanes as of Free holde of and in the farme of Penlasocke And of and in the Ferye of Conwaye and the Ferye of Tallcavon of the Graunt of your Moost gracyouse Highnes made A lease unto your said Orator of all and singular the premisses for terme of the lyffe of the said Anthonye By force whereof he was seased accordynglye May it please your Highnes to understand that where as your said Orator in the moneth of October last past sent his wife and a seruante of his aftir a peasble maner to haue taken the proffytts of the same Accordynglye One Hewe of the Peke at the requeste of one John Salysburie of Denbyeshire Esquyer which claymethe the said Farme and Feryes by a former promyse of the said Anthonye Weldon Where in dede he neuer hadd any such promyse Wolde not suffer your said Orator wyf nor seruante to haue any Entree or interest there but than and there after a Riotouse maner havyng in his Company one Morgan ap Ivan John ap Ivan and William of the Chambre seruantes of the said John Salysburye and sent thyther for the same purpose. And one yemonde of the peke Robert Walter Yemond Apryse Richard Apryse Feryeman Richard A William feryman Thomas ap shoon Fluytt Meredyth and Hugh Okeley seruants to the said Hewe A peke and dyuerse other unto your said Orator unknowen all fensably armyde in Almaigne Ryvetts Jackes and other harneys w^t^ swyrdes bylles bowes and arrowes dyd not alonlye keape your said Orators wyf and seruante owte of possession and take the proffits themselves in caryng of the grownde and other such thynges But also when your said Orator wyff and seruante Requyred that they myght enioye the possession Accordyng to the lease made unto your said Orator They wold gyve no eare unto them but dyd beate and yl intreat them and drawe them of w^t^ force. Myght it therfor pleasse your highnes the premisses gracyously considered to awarde your Honorable Wrytte of Suppena to be directed as welle unto the said Hewe A Peke As unto all the other commaunding them and either of them personallye to apeyre byfore your Honourable Counsaile in the Sterrye Chambre at such tyme as shall seame unto your grace moost conveyent And then and ther to make aunswers unto the premisses And your said Orator shall praye unto god for the prosperouse estate of your gratyouse highnes."[1]

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[1] Pat. Roll 7 Eliz., pt. 10, m. 38.

[2] Pat. Roll 32 Eliz., pt. 20, m. 12.

We may perhaps assume that Robert Apewe was not in a position, as Anthony Weldon's assignee, to bring the matter to an issue, and that it was necessary for the latter himself to take action.

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[1] Star Chamber Proceedings, Henry VIII 20/190. (27/14 is another copy.)

The Petition of Antonye Weldon

"To the Right honorable Sʳ. Thomas Audeley, Knyght, Lord Audeley of Walden and Lord Chaunceler of Englaund.

[IN] humble wyse Complaynyng shewithe unto yoʳ most honorable good Lordshipe yoʳ daylye Orator Antonye Weldon Esquyer one of the Clerkes[1] . . . Kinges Larder That when the Kinge our Soveraign Lord by his graces Letters patents under his graces Seall of Englaund bering date[1] . . . daye of June in the xxxiijᵗʰ yere of his most noble Raygn graunted demysed and to ferme dyde lett unto yoʳ said Orator the towne of . . . assocke in the Comote of Crethen in the Comptie of Carnarvon in noth Wallys wᵗ the passagis of the bootts cauled fferye bootts of Conwaye and Caven To have and to hold to yoʳ said Orator and his assignes from the feast of Ester then last past dewring the naturall [*sic*] of yoʳ said Orator yelding and paying therfor yerely to the Kinge oʳ said soveraign lord his heighnes and successors one yerelye Rent of iiij li. of good and lawfull money of England to be paid yerely at the feastes of saynt Mychaell and Ester as by the said letters patents more playnlye yt dothe appeare So yt ys good Lord that one John Salisburye thelder of Denbighe squyer of his great power and myght wᵗout enny Juste tytell or Cause Reasonable hath wrongfullye Entred in to the same towne of Penlassocke and ferye bootts and the same yet detaynethe and kepithe from yoʳ said Orator his deputye and Assignes And in no wyse will permytt nor suffer that yoʳ said Orator or his said deputie to occupye & enjoye the same according to his graunt of his said letters patents And forasmuche as the said John Salisburye ys a man of great auctorytie power and strenght in the Countrie ther And yoʳ said Orator daylye attendant apon the Kynges Maieste in his houshold be Reason wherof he is not of power nor hath no derecte means nor weyes wherby to optayn his Lawfull and quyet possessyon of an in the premysses In tender consyderacon whereof yt may please yoʳ good Lordshipe to graunt to yoʳ said Orator the Kinges most gracyous wrytt of Injuncyon to be derected unto the said John Salisburye Commanding hym by vertew of the same under A certayn payn to permytt and suffer yoʳ said Orator and his Assignes peacyably to occupye & enjoye the premysses And ffurther to answer unto the same And thereunto to staund & obeye suche further order Concernyng the premysses as shalbe thought by yoʳ good Lordeshipe most reasonable according to Right and Justice And your said Orator shall daylie pray to almyghty god for the preservacon of your good Lordeshipe in hono^r long to Endure."[1]

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[1] MS. torn.

Nothing further relating to this dispute has been traced, but later records indicate that Anthony Weldon made good his claim to the ferries, and that Robert Apewe continued to hold them as his tenant.

Anthony Weldon's forty year term ended at Michaelmas, 1584, but he had, as will be remembered, received a fresh grant for a further term of thirty years. Turning to a class of accounts, often useful henceforward, we find in a "View of Accounts for the County of Carnarvon," covering four years from Michaelmas, 1584, that the name of "Robert ap Hugh Gent" has been entered as that of the tenant of Penlassock and the ferries, but has been erased, and the names of "Richard Bulkeley, Knt. and Thomas Bulkeley, Gent" substituted, while a marginal note explains "by the new demise."[2] If we accept this "Robert ap Hugh" as the "Robert Apewe" of the Petition, we must conclude that he had been able to get his lease for Anthony Weldon's life exchanged for a lease for the forty year term, and that with the end of this term his interest had expired. It would appear that the Bulkeleys had acquired Anthony Weldon's thirty year term.

It has been suggested to the writer that "Penthrem" may well stand for "Penrhyn," where a family of the name of Pugh resided at this time; and we may note that "Penthrin" is to be found written for "Penrhyn" among the Wynn Papers of the following century.[3] If we turn to the *Kalendars of Gwynedd*, we find the name of the Sheriff of Caernarvon, for 1560–1, given as "Robert Pugh (or ap Hugh) of Penrhyn-creuddyn, Esq.," and a reference to the *Pedigrees of Anglesey and Carnarvonshire Families*, tells us that this Robert Pugh married Sir Richard Bulkeley's daughter, and that their eldest son was named William. If we turn once more to a "View of Accounts" covering, this time, the years 1594–1598, we now find "William ap Hugh" entered as the tenant of Penlassock and the ferries, but described as the "assignee of the farmers."[4]

It thus seems reasonable to conclude that Robert Apewe, of the Petition, was the Robert Pugh, of Penrhyn-Creuddyn, who had married Sir Richard Bulkeley's daughter; and that his son, William, had now, with the support of the Bulkeleys, been able to continue the family's connection with the ferries.

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[1] Early Chancery Proceedings C.1 1092/23.

[2] M.A. Eliz., 3016 Caernarvon.

[3] C.W.P. 1999.

[4] M.A. Eliz., 3018 Caernarvon.

We have one further record of Queen Elizabeth's reign, which touches the Conway ferry. This is a Petition sent to the Star Chamber, and like the earlier one bears no date; but it has been endorsed, presumably upon receipt, "Wednesday twenty seventh May year XLIII of Elizabeth the Queen" (1601).

The Petition of Thomas Price

"To the Queenes moste excellent Maiesty.

In moste humble manner sheweth and informeth vnto yo^r^ moste excellent Maiesty yo^r^ true faithful and obedient subiecte Thomas Price of Plase Yollyn in the County of Denbighe Esquier That whereas yo^r^ said subiect Together with one Dauid Holland were appointed Treasurers for the levienge Collectinge and disposinge of money within the Countie of Denbighe towards the relief and maintenance of maymed soldiers accordinge to the statute in that Case provided ffor the better execucon and furtherance of w^ch^ seruice and the dischardge of theire dueties yo^r^ said subiect together with the said Dauid Holland Esquier in and vpon the   of ffebruarie laste paste mett together at a place called y groes yneirias in yo^r^ highnes said County neerelie adioyninge vnto yo^r^ highnes towne of Conwye in the said County But soe it is most dread and gratious Soveraigne That one Hugh Holland gent beinge then in place of one of the bayliffs of y^r^ highnes towne of Conwye in y^r^ highnes County of Caernarvon havinge of longe time borne inward malice and hatred towards yo^r^ said subiect and attended all opportunities and advantages of time for thexecucon thereof and havinge sundry times within theis Twoe yeares laste paste and sithence yo^r^ highnes last generall and free pardon by diuers sinister and indirect practizes sought and attempted yo^r^ subiects lief and overthrowe havinge private notice and knowledge given vnto him that yo^r^ subiect together with the said Mr Holland were at the place aforesaid at thexecucion of the service aforesaid and well thereby knowinge that there was noe fitt place for yo^r^ subiect to lodge that night but onlie at the said towne of Coneweye He the said Hugh Holland in and upon the   daie of ffebruarie laste paste not regardinge his place being for that yeare one of the chosen officers within the said towne and havinge receaved a corporall oathe for the mainteyninge and preservinge of yo^r^ highnes peace and the suppressinge of all riottes and tumultuous assemblies and for the doeinge and executinge duelie and trulie his office but vsinge the Color of his office as the beste meanes to effect his malicious intencon havinge accompanied unto himself one Evan ap

Reynold and others evill disposed persons whose names and place of theire Dwellinge are altogether unknowne vnto yo^r^ said subiect beinge to the nomber of XL^tie^ or therabout not having the feare of god before theire eies or any due regard or respect vnto yo^r^ Maiestys lawes and statuts made for the punishment of Riotts Routous and other vnlawfull assemblies in moste riotous routous and warlike manner the daie and place aforesaid assembled themselves being all armed with swords daggers longe staffs picks welshe hooks and sundrie other vnlawfull weapons martched towards the place where yo^r^ subiect was to come over a ferrie into the said towne an arme of the sea beinge betweene yo^r^ subiect and the said towne there and then attendinge the Cominge of yo^r^ said subiect and yo^r^ said subiect seeinge the said Holland and his riotous Companie martchinge towards the said ferrie and ther attending in such suspitious manner havinge in his Companie but onlie one of his servants and the said ferrie men demanded of the said ferrie men what the said Companie intended who replied they knewe not but said that they did wonder that Mr bailiffe meaninge the said Holland was the leader of such outragious Companie And as yo^r^ subiect came neare to the shoare the said Holland commaunded his said riotous Companie to prouid theire weapons readie drawen and to assault yo^r^ said subiect vsinge many malicious speeches againste yo^r^ subiect to sturre up the furious disposicon of his said riotous Companie to take revenge vpon yo^r^ subiect wch yo^r^ said subiect perceivinge caused the water men to guid theire ferrie to another landinge place."

Thomas Price effects his landing and reaches his lodging ahead of his pursuers, who then endeavour to break down the door, but are eventually induced to disperse by certain well-disposed persons of the town.

Other offences on the part of Hugh Holland are detailed at equal length. Despite a recent proclamation that no one, whatever his degree, was to carry "any dagge pistoll or handgunne," Hugh Holland had been carrying such a weapon, and "offeringe at sundrie persons vpon small or noe occasions to shutt of the said dagge or handgunne." Further, he had lately returned from a journey, passing through Denbigh, where "he the said Holland blue a horne and in greate haste ridd to an Inn in the said towne and pretended himself to be imployed in yo^r^ highnes affaires and pretended to the bailiffs and officers of the said towne that he had a warrant from some of yo^r^ highnes moste honorable privie Counsell to take up poste horses and by Color thereof tooke up poste horses and ridd from thence homewards."

In view of these "riots routs vnlawfull assemblies Carieinge of unlawfull weapons Counterfeitinge of warrants abusinge of yo^{r} highnes subiects and other misdemeanors," Thomas Price petitions that Her Majesty's "moste gratious writt of subpena" may be directed to Hugh Holland and Evan ap Reynold commanding them to appear before her "moste honorable privie Counsell in the high Courte of Starr Chamber then and there to answeare"; and Thomas Price will "incessantlie praie for the prosperous estate of yo^{r} highnes in all ioye and felicity longe to raigne over vs."[1]

The main landing place of the ferry must at this time as later, have been below the Porth Isaf; and one must assume that it was here that Hugh Holland and his company had stationed themselves. One can only surmise that Thomas Price crossed on the flood tide, and that with the aid of the current the boat was diverted to below the little Porth y Castell (or Porth Bach) with sufficient celerity to enable him to elude his enemies. Nothing further concerning Thomas Price's petition has been found.

The Title given to the Ferries during the Tudor period

In Henry VII's grant to Richard Peake, of 1485, this title figures as "Feribotes de Connewey et Cavengronant A Redidraynen usque villam de Gogard." This, with a certain amount of variation in the spelling of the names, continues until 1541; but, in the grant to Anthony Weldon, of this latter year, the title becomes 'fferery botys de Conwey et Cavengrovant et Redydraynen usque villam de dogard"; and henceforward the "et" displaces the earlier "A." The original reading, viz. "The ferryboats of Conway and Caven Gronant from 'Redidraynen' as far as Gogarth," suggests that we are being given the limits, between which the farmer of the ferry has the exclusive right of ferriage; and that we must locate "Redidraynen" above Cafn Gronant. The later version, viz. "and Redydraynen as far as Gogarth," may perhaps be read as indicating a third crossing below Conway.

One is inclined to favour the first and original version as most likely to be correct, but no record has been found of any place name in any way resembling "Redidraynen," either above Tal-y-cafn or below Conway.

Gogarth is correctly spelt in many of the later accounts, and the full title has been met with as late as 1610.

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[1] Star Chamber Proceedings, Eliz., P. 56/32. For Captain Thomas Price of Plas Iolyn (1550–1610), eldest son of Dr. Ellis Price, see *The Price Families of Plas Iolyn and Gilar*, by W. Bezant Lowe, *Arch. Camb.*, 1912.

The Creuddyn Approaches to the Ferry

John Leland is said to have travelled through North Wales in or about the years 1536–9. He does not mention the ferry but he makes the following reference to the commote of Creuddyn: "This commote partely be Conwey Ryver, partely by the se is yn a maner as insulatid, and one way owte of Denbigh land the way is over a made causey over a marsch often overflowen."[1] We may well hold that this "made causey" was the "Sarn y Mynach," of which we shall later find mention, and which would appear to have formed the main approach to the Conway ferry, from the eastward, from early days.

The suppression of the monasteries was taking place at the time of John Leland's journey, and some few years later, at the beginning of Edward VI's reign, the chantries and free chapels were being dealt with.

In 1550 we find the Bailiff of Creuddyn, under the marginal heading "Chapel ffery in parochia de Eglwys Rose," accounting for rents, totalling 9s. 8d., which he had received in respect of certain lands of the late Chapel.[2]

We find, however, that the chapel had already been sold, with its lands.

Letters Patent, dated 22nd June, 2 Edward VI (1548), tell us that the late free chapels called "Chappel y Fery and Penryn" in the parish of "Egloys Rose," had been included with other premises in a grant to Thomas Crawley, and for which he had paid £311 16s. od. in the Augmentations. The lands belonging to the "Chappel y Fery" were situated in the parish of "Llangusdenin" and amounted to 22 acres 1 rood in all.[3]

Other Letters Patent, dated 1st September, 2 Edward VI, grant "Thomas Gogh" Incumbent of the late free Chapel called "Chapell y Fery," an annuity of 7s.[4]

We may surmise that the "Chapell y Fery" was situated near the Creuddyn landing place of the ferry, on a portion of the borough land which, possibly, already bore the name "Ferry." Professor E. A. Lewis finds "an incidental reference," late in the fifteenth century, to the "market of the ferry," which he takes to refer to Gannow.[5] Robert Williams possessed an old manuscript copy of Edward I's Charter, to which a number of additions were subjoined. One of these forbids baking or brewing, in a certain place called "le fferry."[1] Lists of the townships in Eglwys Rhos, of the early nineteenth century, show that one of them bore the name "Ferry,"[2] and Williams appears to subdivide Degannwy into "Trev hir" and "Trev ferry."[3]

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[1] Leland, *Itinerary*, p. 89.

[2] M.A. Ed. VI, 615 Caernarvon.

[3] Calendar of Patent Rolls, Ed. VI, Vol. I, p. 356.

[4] L.R.I., Vol. 214. (N. Wales, Vol. 3), fo. 221.

[5] Lewis, *Boroughs*, p. 194.

The Early Posts

The earliest record of a post across North Wales appears to be that in an Account Book of Posts, which gives "The monethlie Chardges of the Postes," for the year commencing 1st October, 1561. We here find a post laid for the forwarding of official letters to Holyhead, and payments at the rate of 20d. a day, to the "postes" of Chester, Rhuddlan, Beaumaris, and Holyhead.[4]

After an interval of many years we find a similar post once more laid, in 1579. It commences to operate at the beginning of August, and the North Wales "postes" are at first, as before; but on 1st October, 1580, there is added, between Rhuddlan and Beaumaris, "The post of Conway William Prichardes." William Prichardes draws his wage of 20d. a day for the next thirteen months, but the authorities are apparently of two minds as to the necessity for this post at Conway, and William Prichardes drops out of the list, at the end of October, 1581. He is, however, reinstated on 1st June, 1582, but three months later Irish affairs have ceased to be pressing and the post to Holyhead is discharged.[5]

There is now another long interval, during which no post for Ireland crosses North Wales, a more economical arrangement meanwhile sufficing, under which the post of Chester despatches the Queen's "packets" by sea from Chester, and carries to Court any "packets" which reach him from Ireland. At the beginning of 1599, however, the Master of the Posts receives instructions concerning Ireland, which state that "forasmuch as the affaires of that Kingdom are growen to that importance as necessarily require oftener dispatches and more expedicon," posts are now to be laid "between the Court & Holiheade & by way of Bristol towards Ireland." The new posts to Holyhead begin on 1st February, 1599, and are henceforward permanent, and William Prichardes is, once more, "post of Conwaye."[6]

[1] Williams, *Aberconwy*, p. 183.

[2] Carlisle, *Top. Dict.*; Cathrall, *North Wales*, Vol. II, p. 111.

[3] Williams, *Aberconwy*, p. 121.

[4] *Account Book of Posts*, A.O. 3, 868.

[5] *Declared Accounts*, A.O. i, 1950—2A and 3.

[6] *Declared Accounts*, A.O. i, 1951—10.

William Prichardes was doubtless an innkeeper, who provided horses and guides for travellers, as part of his ordinary business. For the 20d. a day he undertook to have horse and man ready at short notice, to carry forward any official letters which reached him, from Beaumaris on the one hand or Rhuddlan on the other. At a much later date we learn that the Conway postmaster's salary had covered the ferriage of the mails, and we may take it that William Prichardes, perhaps in conjunction with his colleague at Rhuddlan, had to meet this expense. The ferriage at Porthaethwy, at this time, was one half penny for a man, and one penny for a horse, and it was probably the same at Conway.

Histories of the Post Office have little to say about these early posts, other than that along the Dover road, which, at this time, had long been upon a permanent footing. It would appear, however, that before the end of Elizabeth's reign, the posts were carrying private letters, in addition to the official ones; and that these private letters were being carried to towns off the official routes, in some at least of which posts had also been established. Fees were paid for these private letters, but these fees were the perquisites of the "posts," and the Master of the Posts had no official interest in them.[1] His accounts, accordingly, do not name any "posts" other than those upon the main routes, to whom wages were paid.

NOTE:

State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth, Vol. 96, pp. 191–8 (printed in *Royal Mail to Ireland*, Watson, pp. 12–20), contain a list of the post towns between Holyhead and London, followed by "orders" for the regulation of the posts. On this list, Denbigh takes the place of Rhuddlan as the post town between Conway and Chester. The document has been given the date of 1575.

Stowe MS., Vol. 570, ff. 99b and 100 (at the British Museum), is another copy of this document, but bears a marginal note: "Orders devised for the posts but not passed." One may perhaps conclude that a proposal to substitute, Denbigh for Rhuddlan was made at this period. The accounts however, make it quite clear that the route lay through Rhuddlan. Northop makes its appearance between Chester and Rhuddlan in 1602; but there is no other change up to 1638, when we strike a long gap in the accounts.

2. THE CONWAY AND TAL-Y-CAFN FERRIES IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

We may recall that Anthony Weldon, the crown lessee of Penlassok and the ferries since 1541, received a further grant from Queen Elizabeth for a term of thirty years from Michaelmas, 1584. Also, that William Payne, in 1590, received a grant of the same premises for twenty-one years from the end of Weldon's term, i.e. from 1614. As we have previously noted, neither of these parties appears to have been known locally, and Payne's name is never mentioned in the Bailiff's accounts.

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[1] Joyce, *Post Office*; *Post Office Survey*; Hemmeon, *Post Office*.

We may recall also that we found grounds for holding that the family of Pugh, or Ap Hugh, of Penrhyn Creuddyn, had been the local holders of Penlassok and the ferries since the early years of Anthony Weldon's original grant. We found a William ap Hugh holding as "assignee of the farmers," in 1594–8 ; and we still find him so figuring in the accounts of the Bailiff of Creuddyn, from time to time, during James I's reign.[1]

Before passing to the next grant of our ferries it is necessary to make a brief reference to certain changes which occur in the accounts of the Bailiffs of the Commotes during James I's reign. Since Henry VIII came to the throne there has been no Prince of Wales until Prince Henry is so created in 1610. Meanwhile, there have been large additions to the revenue in Wales as elsewhere. From Michaelmas, 1610, we find the Bailiffs rendering two accounts. In one they account as Ministers of the King, and in the other as Ministers of the Prince. As Ministers of the King they state that they do not answer for the rents, etc., of the commote generally because the King, by his Letters, has granted these issues to Henry Prince of Wales. They answer to the King, however, for the revenues of the suppressed religious houses, in so far as these have not been granted away, and also for the rents, or farms, of all mills.

When we come to Michaelmas, 1617, the Bailiffs, as Ministers of the King, tell us that the lands, etc., late of Prince Henry, had been granted to Charles Prince of Wales, by the King's Letters of 18th February of this year ;[2] and we find that, prior to the issue of these Letters, the King had executed an Indenture, which figures prominently in several important grants of the North Wales ferries.

This Indenture, of 10th January, 14 James I, is one under which the King leased to Sir Francis Bacon, then holding among other offices that of Chancellor to the Prince, John Dackombe, Knt., Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Thomas Murray, Esq., the Prince's Secretary, James Fullerton, Knt., a gentleman of the Prince's Chamber, John Walter, Esq., the Prince's Attorney General and Thomas Trevor, Esq., the Prince's Solicitor General, among other possessions, the lands in North, West and South Wales, pertaining to the Principality,

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[1] M.A. Jas. I, 1411, 1415, 1426, and 1427 Caernarvon.

[2] M.A. Jas. I, 1418 Caernarvon.

The lease was for a term of ninety-nine years, and for the use of Charles.[1]

Sir Francis Bacon resigned his interest in the "grand lease" in the following year, his place being taken by Sir Henry Hobart. We shall find that this lease is in no way affected by Charles' accession to the throne.

A Lease granted to John Mostyn and Willyam Hookes

"This Indenture made the Tenth Day of December Anno Domini 1624 . . . Between S^r^ Henry Hobart knight and Barronett Chiefe Justice of his Ma^ts^ Court of Common pleas att Westm and Chauncellor of the most excellent Prince Charles . . . S^r^. James ffullerton knight M^r^. of his Highnes Wardes and liveryes S^r^. John Walter knight his highnes Attorney generall And S^r^. Thomas Trevor his Highnes Sollicitor generall of the one parte And John Mostyn of London, Esqr. and Willyam Hookes of Conwaye in the County of Carnervan Esqr. of the other parte.

Whereas the sayd S^r^ Henry Hobart S^r^ James ffullerton S^r^ John Walter and S^r^ Thomas Trevor doe stand possessed and interessed (*sic*) amongst other things of and in the towne of Penlassocke within the Comott of Cruthin and passage of Battellar called the ferrye boates of Conway and Craven Grovant with the rights members and appurtenances thereof in the County of Carneruan for the tearme of diuers yeares yet endureing to and for the onely use and behoofe of the sayd most excellent prince And whereas the late Queene Elizabeth" [here follows a recital of the grants to Anthony Weldon and to William Payne] . . . Now this Indenture witnesseth that the sayd S^r^ Henry Hobart S^r^ James ffullerton S^r^ John Walker and S^r^ Thomas Trevor by warr^t^ and Comaund of the said most excellent Prince as well for and in Consideracon of the sume of ffyfty pounds of lawfull money of England allready payd to the hands of his highnes Receavo^r^ generall to his highnes use for and in the name of a ffyne as for the yearely rent hereafter reserved Have granted and to ffarme letten and by theise presents doe grante and to farme lett at the nominacon of the right Honorable and right Reverend ffather in God John Lord Bishopp of Lincolne lord keeper of the great seale of England vnto the sayd John Mostyn and Willyam Hookes All that Towne of Penlassocke in the Commott of Cruthyn in the County of Carnervan aforesaid in Northwales together with the passage of the Battellar called the ferrye boate of Conway in Craven alias Caven Grovant with all and singler theire Appurtenances whatsoever parcell of the Principallitye of Northwales All great trees woods underwoods mynes quarreyes and Royaltyes standing groweing reneweing or being in and vppon the premisses or any parte or parcell thereof out of this present Demyse and grant allwayes excepted and reserved To have and to hold the sayd Towne of Penlassocke and passage of Battellar [etc. as above] . . . vnto the sayd John Mostyn and Willyam Hookes their executors and assigns from the feast of St Michaell Thatchangell which shalbee in the yeare of o^r. Lord God One Thousand sixe hundred Thirty and ffive att which tyme the lease in being wilbee expired for and dureing the Tearme of Twentye yeares from thence next ensueing fully to bee compleate and ended Yealding and payeing therfore yearely dureing the sayd Tearme the ancient yearely rent or some of ffower pounds . . . [Rents are to be paid half-yearly, at the Annunication and Michaelmas, and if unpaid for twenty-eight days after either feast, this lease is to be void and of no effect.] And the sayd John Mostyn and Willyam Hookes . . . doe covenant promise and grant . . . that they the said John Mostyn and Willyam Hookes theire executors and assignes shall and will from tyme to tyme dureing the tearme before granted well and sufficiently repayre amend maintayne uphold and keepe All the messuages and Tenements in and vppon the premisses and all the houses edifices and buildings to them and every or any of them belonging or appertaineing together with the boates and all other things belonging and necessary to the sayd fferrye or passage And alsoe all hedges ditches fences mounds banckes shores and seawalls belonging to the severall premisses or anv parte or parcell thereof And the same soe well and sufficientlv made repayred . . . in the end of the sayd tearme shall leave and yeald vpp."

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[1] The Indenture of 10th January, 14 Jas. I, and the Letters of 18th February, 14 Jas. I, are both found in Pat. Roll 14 Jas. I, pt. 10, No. 2 (— Pat. Roll 2099). Prince Charles appears to have been assigned the lands of many Welsh monasteries, which had not been held by Prince Henry.

Mostyn and Hookes may take "convenient and necessary houseboote to bee spent and ymployed in and vppon the premisses onely and not elsewhere, to bee had and taken by the assignment of the Surveyo^r of the Countye there, or his deputye."

They must within two years make and deliver "a true certayne and perfect extent and terrar" of the premises ; and, within one year, they must certify in writing "the true number of all such tymber trees and trees like to bee tymber as shalbee then standing and groweing in and vppon the premisses, and particularly in what grounds the same doe growe." They are to hand over these trees—other than such as may be allowed for housebote—at the end of their term. They are, also, to plant each year, "the number of ffower trees of Oake Elme or Ashe in or vppon some parte of the premisses." Further, they, their executors and assigns, or the occupiers of the lands, are to "doe theire suite and service att the Courts to bee holden within the saide Comott and otherwise and paye all mizes Dutyes and Customes due for the premisses hereby Demysed in such sorte as other Tenants and farm^{rs} within the sayd Comott in like cases are accustomed to Doe."

Lastly, they are to enrol this lease, within six months, before the Auditor of the premises, under a penalty of five pounds.

In witness whereof the parties "have sett theire hands and seales the day and yeare first above written."[1]

In this lease we meet, for the first time, with the great John Williams, and as he figures somewhat prominently in our records, during the following years, we may note that he became Dean of Westminster in 1620, succeeded Sir Francis Bacon as Lord Keeper in July 1621, and was made Bishop of Lincoln in the following November.[2]

The lease to Mostyn and Hookes is dated 10th December, 1624. Four days later we find Owen Wynn writing to his father, Sir John, and saying: "My Lord (i.e. the Bishop of Lincoln) has passed a lease in reversion in the names of John Mostyn and William Hookes of Penllassog in Cruthin and of the ferries of Conway and Tale y Cavan."[3]

James I dies on 27th March, 1625, and the Bishop is deprived of the custody of the Great Seal. On 7th November, 1625, we find William Wynn writing to Sir John about the Bishop, and adding: "He leaves here for Bugden near Huntingdon a house belonging to the Bishops of Lincoln where he means to reside until better times. Jack Mostyn Will Hookes and Dick Owen remain in my Lord's service."[4]

In 1627 we come to the first of Charles's fee farm grants, under which one of our ferries passes. It is a grant of great length, containing much repetition. It recites a large number of earlier, and existing, leases of the premises which it assigns, and embodies numerous provisions designed to safeguard all parties concerned, from contingencies of many kinds. It is not possible, here, to do more than review the portions which chiefly concern us.

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[1] L.R.I., Vol. 219. (North Wales, Vol. 8), fo. 91.

[2] "John Williams of Gloddaeth," by Judge Ivor Bowen, *Cymmr. Trans.*, 1927–28.

[3] C.W.P., 1271.

[4] *Ibid.*, 1376.

Grant of Penlassog and the Conway and Tal-y-cafn Ferries to Richard Owen, in perpetuity

17th June, 3 Chs. I (1627).

The Patent Roll opens with the recital of the Indenture of 10th January, 14 James I, between "our late most beloved father the lord James lately King" and Sir Francis Bacon, John Dackombe, Thomas Murray, James Fullerton, John Walter, and Thomas Trevor, under which there were leased to Sir Francis Bacon and the rest, lands in North, West and South Wales, pertaining to the Principality, for a term of ninety-nine years.

It then recites an Indenture, of 16th May, last past (1627), between John Walter, James Fullerton, and Thomas Trevor, the survivors, and present holders of the above lease, on the one part, and Richard Okeley, of Westminster, Esq^{r}., and John Williams, of Bugden, Esq^{r}., of the other part, made by the King's special warrant and by the direction of his Commissioners for the sale of lands, and for and in consideration of the rents therein reserved and to be paid by the said Okeley and Williams. By which Indenture there were conveyed to Okeley and Williams all that town of "Penlassocke" and the passage of the boats called "the Ferry boates of Conwey Craven Grovant alias Caven Gronant" with all their appurtenances, before let to Anthony Weldon (Letters of 7 Eliz. recited) and afterwards to William Payne (Letters recited) And so afterwards, by Indenture of 10th December, 1624, by Henry Hobart Knt. and others, "by our warrant," to John Mostyn and William Hookes at the nomination and appointment of the Reverend Father in Christ John Bishop of Lincoln lately Keeper of the great Seal of England, for a term of twenty-one years (*sic*) commencing at Michaelmas, which was in the year 1625 (*sic*), for and under the ancient annual rent of four pounds and other customary payments.

Besides Penlassog and the ferries, this Indenture of 16th May deals with messuages, tenements, and lands in "Erianis" in the commote of "Isaph," mentioning the names of the tenants and occupiers and giving details of the grants and demises under which the premises have been and are being held. These premises form two groups, the present rents of which total £3 and £4 respectively. Penlassog and the ferries and all the messuages, tenements, and lands, with all the rights and interests in the same, of Walter, Fullerton and Trevor, of whatsoever kind, present, or reversionary—minerals excepted—are conveyed by the Indenture to Richard Okeley and John Williams, their executors, administrators, and assigns, for the remainder of the term of ninety-nine years. Rendering and paying, throughout this term, to John Walter, James Fullerton and Thomas Trevor, their executors, etc., for the King's use and that of his heirs and successors, to the hands of the Receiver General, the rents below-mentioned:—

For "Penlassocke" and the Ferries	now of an annual rent of £4, an annual rent of £8.
For the premises in "Erianis"	now of an annual rent of £4, an annual rent of £8.
For the premises in "Erianis"	now of an annual rent of £3, an annual rent of £6.

The first payment to be made at Michaelmas following the date of the Indenture.

The King now, by the Letters Patent of 17th June formally approves, accepts, ratifies, and confirms the Indenture of 16th May last past, and all its provisions.

There next follows, in the Letters Patent, a clause releasing, acquitting, and exonerating Richard Okeley and John Williams, as well from all annual rents reserved by the Indenture, of 10th January, 14 James (*sic*), as from all arrears of the same. It not being desired that the said Richard Okeley and John Williams, their executors, administrators, or assigns, should be troubled, prosecuted, or molested in respect of these rents or arrears.

We then come to: "Know further that we as well for and in consideration of the sum of two hundred pounds—by our beloved—Richard Owen—well and truly paid . . . as for various other good causes and considerations . . . have given and conceded and by these presents for ourselves and our heirs and successors we give and concede to the aforesaid Richard Owen his heirs and assigns for ever all that our town of Penlassocke within the commote of Cruthin in our County of Carnarvon and all that passage of the boats called the Ferryboates of Conwey and Carven alias Caven Grovant with all and singular their appurtenances."

The Letters then deal with "Erianis," in even greater detail than did the Indenture; and we pass on to a succession of clauses, assuring to Richard Owen, his heirs and assigns for ever, the full, free and uninterrupted enjoyment of the premises.

"Holding of us our heirs and successors as of our Principality of Wales in free and common socage . . . without rendering any rent therefor to us our heirs or successors during the remainder of the aforesaid term and number of ninety and nine years and after the end of that term paying annually to us our heirs and successors for he aforesaid towne of Penlassock and the aforesaid passage—said to be of the annual rent of £4 an annual rent of £8." The same doubled rents as in the Indenture are payable in "Erianis" likewise. The first payment is to be made at the feast of the Annunciation, or Michaelmas, which first comes after the end of the ninety-nine year term, "and not before."

Richard Owen, his heirs and assigns, are also to render and perform all such payments, services, etc., as have been hitherto rendered in respect of the premises, according to the custom of the Principality.

The right of entry and distraint is reserved in respect of any premises for which the rent is forty days in arrear, and, in addition, Richard Owen, his heirs and assigns, are liable to a fine of £5 for every month during which the rent is unpaid beyond the forty days. The fine is also recoverable by distraint.

Finally, Richard Owen is to pay a fine of £5, if these Letters Patent are not enrolled before the Auditor for the County within six months.[1]

The Lessees under the Indenture of 10th January, 14 James I, thus assign to Richard Okeley and John Williams their entire interest in the premises during the remainder of the term of ninety-nine years, Richard Okeley and John Williams accepting liability for the payment of the doubled rents throughout this term. The King conveys the same premises to Richard Owen, in perpetuity, free of rent during the remainder of the ninety-nine years' term, but subject to the same doubled rents thereafter. The consideration for the assignment to Okeley and Williams is the doubled rents. The consideration for the grant in perpetuity is the payment of £200 by Richard Owen.

Several questions suggest themselves, but will not be discussed here.[2] Subsequent events appear to afford ample justification for the view that, while the existence of the ninety-nine year lease may have rendered necessary a separate assignment of the premises for the remainder of that term, this assignment was but a part of the grant in perpetuity to Richard Owen, into whose possession the premises pass forthwith with all liabilities for the rents during the ninety-nine year term and subsequently.

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[1] Pat. Roll 3 Charles I, pt. 37.

[2] We may note that the City of London advanced large sums upon the security of similar grants, and that among the Guildhall Records there is a statement of case for Counsel's opinion, respecting the liability for the payment of the rents during the ninety-nine years term. V, City of London, Guildhall Records, Royal Contract Estate. Small MSS. Box 36, No. 1.

When we turn to a Land Revenue "View of Accounts for the County of Carnarvon," covering the years 1 to 17 Charles I, we find that Anthony Weldon's name has still been entered as the tenant of Penlassog and the ferries, but that it has been struck out, and that "Ric. Owens" has been written above it. The old rent of £4 has been paid up to Michaelmas, 1626, but for 1627 the entry reads: "£4 and 40s. of increment for half year." In the next, and the following years, the rent is shown as £8. Thus the first payment at the increased rate, under the Indenture of 16th May, is to be paid by Okeley and Williams at Michaelmas, 1627. Payment at the increased rate is duly made, at this date, but by Richard Owen.[1]

There are many references in the *Calendar of Wynn Papers* to the parties named in this grant. We have already quoted one in which Richard Owen is said to have been in the service of the Bishop of Lincoln in 1625.[2] He is mentioned on several other occasions in connection with the Bishop's affairs. We may note, too, that when the Bishop is placed upon his trial, in 1637, Richard Owen is made a co-defendant.

The *Calendar* also prints a letter written by Owen Wynn, at a later date, in which he makes reference to "Mr. Richard Okeley sometime servant to the Archbishop when he held the Seal."[3] In other letters the Archbishop is quoted as speaking of "My kinsman John Williams," and mentioning him as "one of the trustees of my lands in Huntingdon";[4] and, on another occasion, as saying "My kinsman John Williams . . . knowes my Estate and where my evidence lies."[5] After the Archbishop's death we find Griffith Williams and Owen Wynn agreeing to appoint John Williams and Richard Okeley as arbitrators in a dispute concerning his estate "because of their near relationship to the Archbishop."[6] It is thus evident that John Mostyn, William Hookes, Richard Okeley, John Williams, and Richard Owen were, one and all, either in the Bishop of Lincoln's service at this time, or very closely associated with him and his affairs.

In July, 1637, the Bishop is tried before the Star Chamber, and is fined £10,000 and sent to the Tower; and there is extant a rent roll of his lands in North Wales, sequestered to pay this fine. It is dated Michaelmas, 1638, and in it, under the marginal heading "[E]glwys Rhose et Talykafn / in Castell//," we find an item which reads as follows:—

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[1] L.R. 8, 364, pp. 34–5 (A.D. 1625–1641).

[2] 1376. [3] 2003. [4] 1945. [5] 2870. [6] 2025 and 6.

“Exit. al’ ten’ voc’ Penlassog et per / ann valor
firm’ le ferriy de Conwy et Talykafn / li
in tenur’ Wm. Pugh, et Phillip Pugh / xx – 0 – 0.”[1]

It is thus evident that Penlassog and the ferries were in the Bishop’s possession, prior to July, 1637, and we seem to be justified in concluding that the parties named above were, one and all, merely the Bishop’s nominees, and that the premises comprised in the fee farm grant of 17th June, 1627, passed directly into the Bishop of Lincoln’s hands.

In connection with the above entry, we may note that our William Pugh (or ap Hugh) of Penrhyn Creuddyn, had a brother named “Philip.”[2] We may, therefore, take it that he is still holding the ferries, in partnership with this brother. We may note, too, that the rent which is now being paid for Penlassog and the ferries is less by £3 4s. 0d. than was paid in Henry VII’s reign.

In January, 1645, John Williams, now Archbishop of York, is in Conway and holding the Castle for the King, and is apparently short of fuel. Owen Wynn writes him suggesting that the “Bennarth” woods may be drawn upon, and adds “Also you have timber of your own on the township of Ariannus . . . and the remains of those trees that were bought of Robert Davyes for the two ferry boats.”[3] If the Archbishop had himself been building ferry boats, we must perhaps conclude that he had taken the ferries into his own hands at this time.

Before passing on we may note that Marle is closely associated with the Conway ferry from this time on. We are told that it was mortgaged, in May, 1624, by William Holland to Sir Peter Mutton and Richard Owen, acting as trustees for Bishop Williams; and that the Archbishop took possession of the property, following legal proceedings, in 1641.[4]

The Archbishop died at Gloddaeth in March, 1650, leaving his estates to his nephew; and this nephew, Sir Griffith Williams, of Penrhyn, died towards the close of 1663.

Sir Griffith Williams left Marle, and the Conway and Tal-y-cafn ferries, to his wife, Gwen Williams, for twenty years.

He left “Penlassog with all its rights members and appurtenances situated in the parish of Eglwys Rhos,” to his second son, Hugh, as also the reversion of Marle and the Conway ferry.

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[1] Cardiff MS. 5, 21. Transcript kindly supplied by Mr. H. Farr, of the City of Cardiff Public Libraries.

[2] Griffith, *Pedigrees*, 372.

[3] C.W.P., 1745.

[4] *The Hollands of Conway*, by Sir Thomas Erskine Holland, reprinted 1915, p. 18.

The reversion of the Tal-y-cafn ferry he left to his son, Roger.[1]

Domina Gwen Williams figures in accounts as paying the rent of £8, which covers Penlassog and the two ferries, up to Michaelmas, 1674.[2] Her death is recorded in November of this year. Hugh Williams, Esq., is paying the £8, in 1682, and Sir Hugh Williams, Bart., in 1685.[3] It is only after the death, in 1686, of Sir Hugh Williams, that an arrangement appears to have been made, for the subdivision of the rent. An undated Schedule, of one of the following years, shows (Sir) Griffith Williams paying £6 for Penlassog, and the Conway ferry, while Robert Williams pays £2 for Tal-y-cafn,[4] and these are the respective rents henceforward. Thus our two ferries, after being covered by one rent for 250 years, now finally part company.

Sir Griffith Williams and Robert Williams still figure as paying their respective rents, in a Receiver General's account covering the years 1708–1712. This Robert Williams does not figure in the Pedigrees, but would appear to have been a son of Roger Williams.[5]

We have a few more records of the seventeenth century, which may be noted as bearing, more or less directly, upon the Conway ferry.

Northop makes its appearance upon the post road to Holyhead, in 1602, and this road runs from Chester, through Northop, Rhuddlan, Conway, and Beaumaris, up to 1639, after which we strike a long break in the accounts. Denbigh appears to have displaced Rhuddlan, during the Commonwealth period, or at the Restoration.[6]

We may perhaps mention that Nicholas Hookes, whose fame, as the forty-first child of his father, and as himself the father of twenty-seven children, has often been recorded, was the Conway postmaster for many years following 1621.[7]

In the summer of 1652, our first tourist, Mr. John Taylor, rode his horse "Dun" from Chester by Flint, Holywell, and Rhuddlan to Conway, where he lodged at the house of Mr. Spencer, the postmaster, and states that his entertainment was good and his reckoning reasonable. He did not see the Castle,

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[1] P.C.C. 140 Juxon. Proved 3rd Dec., 1663.

[2] L.R. 2, 271—22-26 Chs. II.

[3] L.R. 6, 183—34 Chas. II and L.R. 6, 182—1 Jas. II (*sic.*).

[4] Index 1030.

[5] L.R. 7/139/12 (3).

[6] *Declared Accounts*, A.O. i, 1951/11 to 1953/28.

[7] For the inscription on Nicholas Hookes' Monument, in the Church at Conway, see Williams, *Aberconwy*, p. 104.

"because there was a garrison" ; and does not mention the ferry.[1]

In 1675, John Ogilby's Survey of the Roads gives us the post route at this date. This brings you from Chester, by Hawarden and Northop, to Denbigh ; and from Denbigh, by Henllan, Llannefydd, Bettws yn Rhos, Dolwen, and Groesffordd ; and you "enter Carnarvonshire at 228 (i.e. miles from London) whereof only a small Corner lies on this side the Conway, which at 229 Miles you arrive at and over which by a Ferry of 3 Furlongs you come to Conway Town."

The road thus clearly entered Caernarvonshire by the causeway, to which we later find the name "Sarn y Mynoch," or "Sarn Mynach," attached. We must note, too, that upon the Creuddyn side of the river, just where the road reaches it, Ogilby's map marks "Ferry house."

Having crossed the ferry, Ogilby's road does not enter the town of Conway "unless the Tide being in you are obliged to pass by Bangor." Otherwise, "leaving the town on the Left . . . you keep the Right-hand way and over a skirt of Penmaen-bychan," and proceed along the sands towards Penmaen Mawr. It is this latter road, only, which Ogilby maps and follows. Thus, if the tide was in, you passed through the town and over the Sychnant Pass ; otherwise, you turned right from the landing place, below "Porth Issa," and passed through the gateway in the curtain wall, and straight across to the Conway Marsh and on to the sands.[2]

The earliest mention of a coach, in North Wales, which has been noted, occurs in a letter written by Sir Roger Mostyn to Sir John Wynn, in May, 1624. The Judge was coming to Mostyn in a coach, accompanied by his wife, who was weak and could not ride ; and it was desired that the coach should carry them on to Gloddaeth. Sir John Wynn is asked to take steps "to mend the way both above and under Penmayn for a coach, lest the weather be foul, so that if they may not take the one way they be sure of the other." In a later letter we find the question raised as to whether there is any route by which the coach could bring them from Gloddaeth to Gwydir.[1]

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[1] Taylor, *Short Relation.*

[2] Ogilby, *Britannia.*

This is the first mention of the Ferry-house which has been met with. We have, unfortunately, no information as to when, or by whom, it was built. The late Principal Davies states that Lewis Morris, on his mother's side, "was descended from William Thomas of the Ferry House, near Conway." As Lewis Morris was christened in March 1701, William Thomas may well have entertained John Ogilby. *Morris Letters*, Vol. I, p. 486. The old road from below Conway, which passed through the present Bodlondeb, was closed about seventy years ago.

Sir John Bramston's account of his journey to Ireland with his father in 1631, in which he tells how they left their coach at Chester, and rode on to Holyhead, on horseback, is referred to under "Beaumaris." He has nothing to say about Conway, and does not mention the ferry.[2]

On 24th July, 1684, the Duke of Beaufort, on his "Progress," rode with a large company from Mostyn to Conway. "Taking the benefitt of a low tyde he progress'd a great part of the way upon the Sands. Sir Roger Mostyn's Coach with 6 Horses also attending ye Company towards the foot of Pen-men-maure Mountain, a dangerous precipice to ride in."

Dinely, who writes the account of the *Progress*, confuses Penmaen Rhos with Penmaen Mawr. All we are told about ferry is that the Caernarvonshire Militia, drawn up at the water side to receive the Duke, fired several volleys "as he putt foot on shoar out of the Ferry."[3]

Lord Clarendon, on his way to Ireland, as Lord Lieutenant, writes from Chester on 28th December, 1685: "I am this morning going for Wales with a light train, having shipped most of my servants and horses from hence, as they tell me my Lord Duke of Ormond used to do." The light train consisted of Lord Clarendon's coach, in which he was accompanied by Lady Clarendon and "her women"; also, of a waggon, and a party of gentlemen and servants on horseback. Sir Paul Ricaut, in his own coach, was also of the party.

They reached St. Asaph that evening, where they were entertained by the Bishop. We may pause to note Lord Clarendon's statement, that there were at St. Asaph "two very pretty inns, who have room for fifty horses." This seems to indicate that the post route, through Denbigh, was not that which travellers followed; but that now, as in later days, they went by St. Asaph and Abergele.

Writing on the morning of 29th December, Lord Clarendon says: "We are now going to Conway, which is fourteen miles from hence, and will take us up five hours to go it; we must be there before four in the afternoon, because then the tide serves to carry us over the ferry." All we are told about the journey, in the next day's letter, from Conway, is "We came hither about four yesterday in the evening, and, thank God! passed the Ferry very well."

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[1] C.W.P. 1223, 1475.

[2] Bramston, *Autobiography*.

[3] Dinely, *Progress*, p. 50.

Lord Clarendon was, doubtless, ferried across on his arrival, leaving his servants to look after the transport of the coach and waggon. This was the practice at Porthaethwy, in later days. We find from the hour at which the attempt was made to pass below Penmaen Mawr, on the following afternoon, that the time at which the tide served for the crossing at Conway was the time of low water. We have the fact that two coaches and a waggon were ferried over at Conway on 29th December, 1685; but we shall find that Lord Bulkeley had a coach at this time, so we may not credit Lord Clarendon's coach with being the first to cross here. It is certain, however, that the passage of a coach was a very rare event; and we may question here, as at Beaumaris, whether the services of some other craft than one of the ferryboats had not been specially engaged for the occasion.

Travelling by coach was a slow business, even in England, at this date. Lord Clarendon took eight days between London and Chester, and writes on his arrival at Chester: "I thank God we are thus far advanced wonderful prosperously, not having had any coach in our company overturned, nor any of our tackle broken."[1]

"My Lord Bulkeley's son" takes charge at Conway; so we leave Lord Clarendon's further progress, to "Beaumaris."

We meet with accounts of a disaster to one of the Conway ferryboats, which would appear to have occurred about the middle of the seventeenth century.

William Williams, of Llandegai, tells us that "In Cromwell's time the Ferryboat at Conway sunk with about 80 in it, who all perished except one young woman, who lived to the age of 116, and is buried at Llanfairfechan."[2]

Pennant, "upon the strongest traditional authority," gives a much more detailed account. "Above a century ago," he writes, "Sion Humfries of this parish (i.e. Llanfairfechan) paid his addresses to Anne Thomas of Creyddyn, on the other side of Conwy river. They made an appointment to meet at a fair in the town of Conwy. He in his way fell over Penmaen Mawr: she was overset in the ferry-boat, and was the only person saved out of more than fourscore. They were married and lived very long together in the parish of Llanfair. She was buried 11th April, 1744, aged 116. He survived her five years, and was buried 10th December, 1749, close by her in the parish church-yard, where their graves are familiarly shewn to this day."[1]

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[1] *Hyde Correspondence*, Vol. I, pp. 196–201.

[2] MSS. of William Williams of Llandegai. *Arch. Camb. Suppt.* 1917 p. 311.

NOTE.—We may note that most travellers by the Chester road appear to have taken ship, at this time, at the New Key, near Neston, though Parkgate already figures in the *Coasting Pilot* published in 1693. Ogilby refers to the road from London to Chester as "one of the most frequented Roads of the Kingdom," and mentions that stage coaches and carts, as well as horsemen, travelled this road. It would appear that it was, for the most part, only those travelling light, and in haste, who faced the journey across North Wales to Holyhead.

We may note also that a reference in Watson, *Royal Mail to Ireland*, p. 45, to the loss of a Holyhead packet boat with one hundred and twenty two passengers, in December, 1670, appears to be inaccurate, and perhaps conveys a wrong impression as to the size of the packets, and the extent of the traffic, at this date. A reference to S.P. 29 (State Papers, Dom. Chs. II), 281, fo. 9, shows that a letter from Chester, dated 7th December, 1670, announced "Ye Loss of ye packet boate called ye Guift in her passage from Holyhead . . . and 22 passengers in her drownd amongst whom Captn. Bulkeley a brother of ye Ld Bulkeley's is said to bee one."

The Tal-y-cafn Ferry

We have noted above that the Conway and Tal-y-cafn ferries, after being leased by the Crown in combination, and covered by one rent, for two hundred and fifty years, became separated once more under the will of Sir Griffith Williams, though the separation does not appear to have been given effect to, or the rent officially subdivided, until about 1686. The rent payable to the Crown, henceforward, is £2 per annum; and the holder of the ferry, at the end of the century, is Robert Williams.

We have no record of any traveller by the Tal-y-cafn ferry during this century, nor is there any mention of Tal-y-cafn in any of the Wynn Letters, except the reference to the combined lease of the two ferries in 1624 to John Mostyn and William Hookes.

3. THE BEAUMARIS FERRY, 1509–1721

At the time of the Charter of 1562, the burgesses of Beaumaris had—if we ignore the brief holding by "Gron' Brôn"—held their ferry for 256 years. They have now held the combined farm, which included the ferry, at the unvarying rent of 75s. for 124 years; and though, for the last 97 years, they have held as annual tenants only, they appear to have established the position of a perpetual tenancy.

We shall find that the Beaumaris ferry is the only royal ferry the rent of which is not increased during Henry VII's reign. We shall also find the Beaumaris ferry nominally included under the name "Yvelaven," with the other royal ferries across the Straits, in the combined leases, which become the vogue from the time of Henry VIII's accession. The inclusion, however, is purely nominal, and even Serjeant Hugh Lloyd, who, in Elizabeth's time, styles himself "the Queen's farmer of the river Menai," never attempts to interfere with the Beaumaris ferry.

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[1] Pennant, *Tours*, Vol. III, p. 109.

A brief reference may be made to John Kerver, Master of the King's Works in North Wales, who was much at Beaumaris, and often crossing the ferry, during Henry VIII's reign. In 1528 his accounts have the entry: "Item to Willm Norres and Roger ap John ferymen of beaumares for caryage of the said John Kerver and his workemen with their Toles between Beaumares and Nanconwey att divers times xxd." In 1531, 12d. is paid in respect of "the said John with his horsse fferreying at the passage of Beamares at sondrye tymes goyng abowt the Kinges busynes." It may be of interest to note that John Kerver is engaged upon work on the town walls and Shire Hall, in 1539, and brings "ix bottes lade with stones from the ffryers of Bewmaries to the key."[1]

We have, so far, made no mention of the landing place of the ferry. It is in evidence, for the first time, in 1438, when a stretch of the shore line extending from the "lyme Culne" below the town of Beaumaris, as far as the "feryman warth," is leased for twenty years, as a fishery. This fishery, or weir, becomes known as the Lyme Kylne fishery, and in 1448, a second makes its appearance, lying upon the shore of the sea between the Lyme Kylne fishery and the house of the Friars Minor of Llanfaes. The "feryman Warth" is thus definitely located in the position of the present "Green."[2]

The Beaumaris foreshore figures prominently in the early accounts. Twenty, or more, burgages (among them we find in 1438 that of the Prior of Prestholme),[3] and many acres of borough land, are returned as wasted, or lost, to the sea during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. A portion of the town wall is "wholly broken by the inundation of the sea," in 1459.[4]

[1] Exchequer K.R. Accounts E. 101, 488/29 and 30 and 489/6 and 16.

[2] M.A. 1153/5 and 6.

We may note that in the Bailiffs' accounts, for the year ending Michaelmas, 1 Elizabeth (1559), through a miscopying, "piscarie" is written "pasture," in the entry relating to the second fishery. This error is continued in the following accounts, and it is as a "pasture lying upon the shore of the sea between the foresaid weir ('gurgitem') called lyme kylne and the late house of the friars of Llanfaes" that the second fishery passes into the Charter.

[3] M.A. 1153/4.

[4] M.A. 1217/3.

We learn from the Charter that sea walls and banks were being maintained, in 1562, but that they were in "these days" being "devastated and destroyed by the great flow and ebb of the sea and by winds and tempests." No inconsiderable part of early Beaumaris would appear to have lain to the south-west of the present town, upon land now submerged. The history of the Beaumaris sea defences would be of great interest.

The Queen states, in the Charter, that the port of Beaumaris is "most guarded and convenient for her subjects going to and coming from Ireland"; and in this year of the Charter we meet with the first record of a post to Holyhead. Richard White has been "poste of Bewmarys," since 1st October, 1561.[1] This is the opening of a new chapter in the history of Beaumaris and of its ferry.

The Charter is signed on 22nd June, 1562.[2] The Bailiffs account for the old rent of 75s. in respect of the passage and the other issues, up to Michaelmas of this year; but at Michaelmas, 1563, they answer only for the new fee-farm rent of £42 12s. 9d.,[3] which, under the Charter, covers all their lands and other issues, including the ferry, and the dues and other customs which they may lawfully take and have been accustomed to take, both by sea and by foreshore, "between the Island called Prestlome and the place called the Swelly."

We have to wait for 132 years before we receive any further assistance from the Beaumaris Accounts.

From the date of the Charter, Beaumaris begins to figure prominently as a post town, and a resting place for travellers on the road to Ireland. The words of the Charter suggest that the Queen's subjects had been in the habit of taking ship at Beaumaris, and we subsequently meet with occasional references to vessels at Beaumaris, from, or bound for, Dublin. But Beaumaris is never a packet station, and its prominence is mainly due to its position on the road to the little tidal haven of Holyhead.

The "Account Book of Posts," for 1561–2, which names Richard White as "poste of Beaumarys," names "John Aprice poste of Hollyhedde"; and both draw the same pay of 20d. per day.[4]

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[1] A.O. 3, 868 (Account Book of Posts).

[2] Pat. Roll. 982, 4 Eliz., pt. 7, m. 19.

[3] M.A. Eliz., 2859 and 2860 Anglesey.

[4] A.O. 3, Account Book of Posts 868. As stated under Conway, this is an isolated account and it is possible that this post had been established a year or two earlier.

There is no mention, in the above account, of any arrangement regarding the passage to Dublin. But a list of "Commissioners Deputies" appointed to oversee the coast of Anglesey, and which bears the date 1566, has attached to it a Memorandum relating to the coast between Beaumaris and Holyhead. Here we read that "their are neyther shippes barkes nor pygkardes belonging to all that coast other then the thre small pykardes and the post boat mencyoned in the letter, whereof the seid thre pykardes do belong unto John Dobbe, Rowland Brytall and Hugh Baghe, inhabytantes of the seid towne of Beawmaryss and the seid post boat to John ap Res."[1]

We may probably take John Aprice and John ap Res to have been the same person. Richard White had to transport the the letters from Beaumaris to Holyhead, on the one hand, and from Beaumaris to Rhuddlan, on the other. It is not likely that John Aprice would receive the same pay, for the transport from Holyhead to Beaumaris only; but it is difficult to believe that his 20d. per day could have covered the passages of the post boat to Dublin also. We have here, in any case, the modest commencement of the post to Ireland, by Beaumaris and Holyhead.

When the post, after a break, is once more laid, in 1579, Richard Sharpe at first, and Nicolas White subsequently, receive £10 per month "as well for his service as Lande Post betwene Holiehedd and Beaumaris, as also for his continual attendaunce with a Barque to conveigh her Maiesties Packett and Lres from Holihedd into Irelande."[2]

A problem presents itself in connection with Beaumaris, as a post town. The sands were only traversable for some three to four hours out of the twelve. Later, we find travellers, when leaving Conway for Beaumaris and Holyhead, told that when the tide is in they must go by Bangor. We also find that the way across the sands is not followed in thick or stormy weather. It is obvious that the post would not be held up and, therefore, we must assume that, more often than not, it crossed at Porthaethwy. The question remains whether when the post-boys crossed at Porthaethwy they still had to come out of their way to Beaumaris.

In 1621 the posts at Northop, Rhuddlan, and Conway are still drawing their 20d. a day; but Rowland ap Robertes, at Beaumaris, now receives 2s., and from June, 1626, we find "a post laid betwixt Beaumarys and Holyhead viz Richard Robertes

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[1] Lewis, *Port Books*, p. 309.

[2] *Declared Accounts*, A.O. i, 1950/2A and 3.

Post of Llangenfny," who also receives 2s. a day. One is inclined to associate the new post at Llangefni, and the higher wage paid to these two posts, with arrangements for dealing with the alternative routes, and for sending letters directly from Porthaethwy to Holyhead. Richard Robertes appears to be still functioning at Llangefni in 1639, after which we strike a break in the Accounts. But when we reach the next account which has been met with, in 1685–6, there is no post at Llangefni. Randolph Evans, of Beaumaris, is now, however, drawing a salary of £60 per annum, as compared with £55 at Chester, £33 at Conway, and £30 at Holyhead, where the packets are now separately contracted for. It may well be that Randolph Evans now bears the responsibility for the services earlier rendered by Richard Roberts.[1]

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[1] A.O. 1, Bundle 1953. Rolls 24 to 28 cover years 1621–1639. E. 351/2758 (Pipe Office Declared Accounts) covers years 1685–6.

Since the above was written, the following petition found among the Caernarvonshire Quarter Sessions Records, for the year 1624, has been published in the *B.B.C.S.*, Vol. IX, part 4, by Mr. Emyr Gwynne Jones :—

> "The humble peticon of Rowland ap Robert, Postm'r of Bewmaris in ye Countie of Anglesey, to the honourable Sir Peter Mutton, Kt., and mr Littleton, Justices of Assize in Northwales :
> Most humbly sheweth that yo'r peticoner and his servants have beene ymploied these xx yeares and above in carryinge his Ma'ties packetts to Conway, and in guiding Noblemen and gentlemen strangers that ride for his Ma'ties affairs by post that way. And many times, when sudden mistes and foggs doe fall, the danger is very great uppon the sandes that ye Kinges packetts and subiectes are like to perishe. W'ch moved me about 4 yeares past to be an humble peticoner to the then Judges of Assize in these p'ts that they would be pleased to give order that at every mile end of the sandes a name poste might be fixed and every quarter of a mile smaller stakes, that may guide such of his Ma'ties subiectes as have cause to travel that way; w'ch they were pleased to graunte, and gave their p'sent order to certaine gentlemen of Carnarvon theire to see it p'formed ; but as yet it is not donne.
>
> Yt may therefore please yo'r Lo'pps to give me leave to renewe this my peticon, yt beinge for the gen'all good and service of his Ma'ties . . . . [rest of document mutilated]."

There may well be some connection between Roland ap Robert's petition, and the raising of his salary, and the establishment of a post at Llangefni. The latter step might well be a move in the direction of avoiding the dangers and drawbacks of the sands, by providing facilities for the alternative route. The traveller for Ireland, during the seventeenth century, started across the sands from just to the westward of Penmaen Mawr, but many others must have been crossing from Aber. We have met with no mention of poles, to mark the route across the sands, until the second half of the eighteenth century, when Aber was the recognised point of departure, on the Caernarvonshire side; and the poles were maintained by the Beaumaris Corporation, as part of their ferry expenditure.

Our first traveller's account of a crossing at the Beaumaris ferry is that written by Sir John Bramston, in which he describes a journey to Ireland, which he had made with his father, in August, 1631. They travelled in his father's coach to "West-Chester," where they lay at the Red Lion Inn, "expecting a wind." The host told them that "the best and speediest passage was from Holiehead," but that the coach could not go. They accordingly set off the next morning, on horse-back, in company with two other gentlemen; but we are told nothing of their journey, until they reached Penmaenmawr.

"One Mr Fountain and Sir Thomas Cary went alonge with vs, and passinge ouer the mountaine Pen Men Maure, in the narrow passage, wee met a gentleman, of whome Mr Fountain and Sir Thomas inquired how the tyde was, whoe told them we might pass well if wee made hast, soe they putt on, wee followinge, not knowinge what had passed. Soe soone as they were downe the mountaine they fell to gallopinge. Neither my father nor myselfe vnderstood at first the meaninge; but, findinge the water grow deeper, for it came in rills, we suspected the sea might be comeinge in, as it was, and soe I desired my father to gallop too. The sands, saue only in those rills, were carpet wayes. At last we came to the place where they were expectinge the ferrie boat, which was at Beaumaris, and the ferrimen drinkinge. Wee all made as loud a call as we could. We did see some fisherboats, and beinge in great perplexitie and feare, we all rode on brest vp the streame, purposeinge to trie if our horses (the worst comeing to the worst) would carrie vs ouer. I askt my father if he could swim; he sayd when he was younge he could. Sayd I. Wee will keepe vp the tyde, and with the helpe of our horses, and by swimminge, we may either gett ouer, or else some of the boates may take vs in. At last the ferriemen sett out, and came to vs, tellinge vs we were in noe dainger, but by such tyme as we and our horses were on board a ship might haue rode betweene vs and the shoare behind vs, and all was couered with water where wee stood longe before wee gott to Beaumaris."[1]

We note from this account that the Beaumaris ferry-boat could carry at least four horses at one time, and that the ferry was situated at Beaumaris. We happen to have other evidence that the ferry still worked from the "Green," at this date, in a Survey of the Castle, made by Humphrey Jones, Receiver General, in this same year, 1631. Here we find scheduled: "two stock fowlers of Iron fasten'd in the Castle Wall, the

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[1] Bramston, *Autobiography*, p. 35.

Mouth of one of them looking to the Town of Beaumaris, the other towards the passage or Ferry of the said town."[1]

We may pause to note, further, that the Bramstons and their two companions appear to have stayed a day or two, at Holyhead, "expecting a wind"; and that there was clearly at least one inn at Holyhead at this time.

Nothing directly concerning the ferry, or the interruptions which the post across North Wales must have suffered during the early years of the Civil War, has been met with. Beaumaris under the Bulkeleys had been loyalist, and we are told that troops from Ireland had been landing there for the King's support.[2]

During the early months of 1646, Caernarvon Castle was besieged by General Mytton. One or two Parliament ships, under a Captain Stephen Rich, were anchored off Friars at this time; but though the communications, which passed between Colonel Richard Bulkeley and Captain Rich, were not too cordial no hostilities occurred.[3]

Caernarvon Castle is surrendered to Mytton, on 4th June,[4] and a little later a meeting between Mytton's Commissioners and the gentry and inhabitants of Anglesey is held at Llangefni;[5] and terms are eventually agreed under which, on or about 14th June, the Beaumaris Castle passes into Mytton's hands.[4]

Later, in 1646, Captain Stephen Rich becomes Commander of the Holyhead Packets, and we may assume that the posts are working as before. In the following year we find the Committee of the Admiralty making an agreement with Captain Rich, under which he is to provide two packet boats, receiving £11 per month for each, "one to be constantly attending at Dublyn and the other at Holyhead."[6]

In 1648 royalist risings occur in many parts of the country, and in March, of this year, the Derby House Committee receives information of a "designe to seize the post barke at Holyhead and to carry it to Wexford to ye Rebells."[7] A little later we have the rising in Anglesey, and Beaumaris Castle is once more in the hands of the Bulkeleys. The Declaration of the inhabitants of Anglesey is dated 14th July,[1] and on the 24th of the same month the Committee of Lords and Commons, at Derby House, issues instructions to the Postmaster General, that the stages are to be laid "from Conwey to Portynllaen and that the post barque for Dublyn be brought to Portynllaen."[2]

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[1] Included by William Williams, in his "Historia Bellomarisci," *Arch. Camb.*, 1917, p. 292.

[2] Phillips, *Civil War*, pp. 366–7.

[3] C.W.P., 1771, 1776, 1783–8, 1796.

[4] Phillips, *ibid.*

[5] C.W.P., 1780–1, 1792–4.

[6] S.P. 16 (State Papers, Chas. I), 512, p. 268, No. 133, and p. 280, No. 139.

[7] S.P. 21 (State Papers, Interregnum), 24, p. 26d.

About the middle of September, Mytton arrives at Bangor with his troops. We are told that a guard was stationed at Porthaethwy to oppose his crossing. But he had brought boats along from Conway, and crosses at Cadnant, and by the following evening Beaumaris Castle is once more in his hands.[3] We may conclude that the control of the ferry passed with that of the Castle, in the several changes over of this period.

Several unsuccessful attempts are made, in later years, to effect the substitution of Porthdinllaen for Holyhead as the Irish packet station. It does appear to have functioned as such, for a few weeks, during the summer of 1648.[4]

John Ogilby's *Description of the Principal Roads* of the Kingdom was published in 1675; but some years, one would suppose, must have been spent upon the work. He tells you at Conway, and again after crossing Penmaen Mawr, that if the tide be in you must go by Bangor. But he carries his Holyhead road across the sands from Penmaen Mawr to Beaumaris. He states that: "The Ferry over the Menay is about 5 Furlongs leading you into Beaumaris," and his road, from Penmaen Mawr to the ferry, measures four miles and two furlongs. He mentions that Beaumaris is "furnished with good Entertainment for Passengers in their way to or from Holyhead." If Ogilby's statement as to the width at the ferry is correct, the sands must have been appreciably further from the town than they are at the present day.

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[1] Parry, *Progresses*, p. 387.

[2] S.P. 21 (State Papers, Interregnum), 10, p. 50, No. 6.

[3] Parry, *Progresses*, pp. 388–9.

[4] We must note that Hemmeon (*Post Office*, p. 109) represents Porthdinllaen as continuing to serve as the packet station until 1653, when, he states, "Chester was substituted for Portinllain as the point of departure on the English side." He first finds the packets restored to Holyhead, in 1693. Hemmeon has, however, overlooked many records, and appears to have been misled by certain references to Chester, in 1653. Captain Stephen Rich, and the packets, are at Holyhead at the beginning of November, 1648. He is much in evidence, during 1649, owing to charges brought against him; and he is eventually superseded, in May, 1650, by a Major Swift, who is appointed "Postmaster of two Post Barques to be employed between Holyhead and Dublin," at a remuneration of £9 6s. 8d. per month, for each. [S.P. 63 (State Papers, Ireland), 266, p. 119d. S.P. 25 (Interregnum—Orders), 62, p. 228, Nos. 13 and 14; S.P. 25 (Admiralty), 123, p. 75 and p. 114; S.P. 25 (Orders), 64, p. 301 and p. 302.]

It is worth noting the line of Ogilby's road across Anglesey. He passes up Red Hill, passes the "Almes houses" on his right, leaves Pentraeth wide to the right, and Llansadwrn and Penmynydd to the left and comes to "Hildrevaght Mill," which he passes on his left, and so to Llangefni. He does not indicate the road from Porthaethwy, but he quite clearly strikes into that road, near Hirdrefaig; and we can follow every step of his way to-day. Leaving Llangefni, he passes through Bodedern and Llanynghenedl. He indicates the road "to the Bridge," but does does not follow it. Instead, he bears to the right, and crosses the sands, about where Telford later places his embankment, and so to Holyhead.

It is not without interest to us further to note that at Llangefni, at the corner where a road on the left is marked "to Newbrough" (i.e. on the site of the present Bull Hotel), Ogilby places an inn, "ye Angell"; and, further, that he describes Holyhead as "a scattering Town consisting chiefly of Houses for Entertainment of such Persons as either are bound for Ireland or lately arrived thence."[1]

Ogilby gives us the post route from Beaumaris to Holyhead, and we have noted that it takes a short cut into the direct line between Porthaethwy and Holyhead. In 1669, before Ogilby mapped his road, we find William Williams, the Beaumaris schoolmaster, writing: "Velaven is a Sand at low Water, reaching from Penmaen mawr to the Ferry of Beaumaris, about 3 or 4 miles. N.B.—This was formerly the direct road to Ireland."[2] One could wish that William Williams had vouchsafed us a few more words upon his "formerly the direct road." It is quite clear, however, that he no longer regarded it as such; and we take his statement as indicating that the great majority of the travellers for Ireland were disregarding the good entertainment which Beaumaris could furnish, and proceeding directly from Conway, by Bangor and the Porthaethwy ferry and Llangefni, to Holyhead. When one recalls the drawbacks and interruptions of the route across the sands, and remembers how pre-eminently the most important crossing of the Straits the Porthaethwy ferry was shown to be, in Henry VII's reign, one cannot but wonder whether the ordinary traveller had not always followed this route.

In 1684, the Duke of Beaufort, Lord President of Wales and the Marches, made a General Visitation of his Commands in Wales. After a review on the Conway Marsh, on 26th July, he was "conducted to their water side by the County Troop of Caernarvonshire; and soon after was received on this side the Ferry by the Militia of Anglesea Horse and Foot."

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[1] Ogilby, *Britannia.*

[2] *Arch. Camb.,* 1917, p. 302.

T. Dineley, who writes the account of the Duke's *Progress,* says no more regarding the crossing by the party, but he devotes a paragraph to the ferry.

"Anglesey is encompassed on three sides with the Irish Sea, and by the Menai divided from ye Continent of England and Caernarvonshire, whence we ferry'd over thither, above a mile at low water. Their Ferry-boats are after this shape, which I have exhibited in ye margin (not for a pattern) without the addition of a timber, easy ascent of planks for horse to embark: those which, with unreasonable and unmerciful stripes, will not take the boat are left behind. The Passengers being on board, those Ferrymen who drive in the horses stand in the water up to the middle, and those within the boat lift up one of the horse's forelegs into the boat."[1]

The little sketch, in the margin, shows a keel-less, rudderless boat, with very high rounded ends, and very low sides, amidships. It appears to be designed to go into very shallow water, to pick up the passengers, and one gathers from the account that it was then held in position, a little way off the shore, while the horses were made to struggle aboard. The "easy ascent of planks," referred to those forming the side of the boat, and not to any provision for enabling the horses to walk on board. We shall find unkind remarks made about our ferries in this respect almost to the last. John Ogilby's five furlongs have been increased to eight by Dineley, but we need not, perhaps, take these estimates of the width of the channel too seriously.

We left Lord Clarendon, at Conway, in the charge of Lord Bulkeley's son. An attempt was made to pass below Penmaen Mawr, in the late afternoon of 30th December, 1685, but was unsuccessful. A heavy storm was raging and "the ebb was not so low as it useth to be at these seasons by forty yards." Another start was made, from Conway, at six o'clock the following morning, but it was again found impossible to take the coach below Penmaen Mawr.

Writing from Beaumaris on the following day, 1st January, 1686, Lord Clarendon gives an account of this journey. When the coach failed to pass Penmaen Mawr, Lady Clarendon was placed in a litter, "and the rest of us on horseback (though I confess for my own particular, I went on foot), passed over

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[1] Dinely, *Progress.*

Penmaen Maur, at the foot of which, on this side, I met my Lord Bulkeley's coach and servants, but they told us they had escaped very narrowly being cast away in coming over the ferry, and that the winds were so very high that it was not fit for us to attempt going that way; so the coach carried us to Bangor, where we ferried over into Anglesey, and then put my wife into the litter again; for never was, or can come a coach into that part of the country; and thus we came safe hither about three in the afternoon, God be praised."

Lord Clarendon had arranged for his coach to be taken off its carriage, and carried over Penmaen Mawr; and for his waggon to return to Chester. But the coach, by the enterprise of one of his servants, was brought over on its wheels, the horses in trace one before the other, and men pushing behind; and it safely reached Beaumaris that evening. The waggon was similarly treated, and arrived the next day; while Sir Paul Ricaut, accompanying the party in his own coach, safely reached Beaumaris that night.

Lord Clarendon later writes: "This journey will be famous, three coaches and a waggon having been brought over Penmaen Maur." Which the third coach was is not apparent.

The letters, unfortunately, say nothing about the actual ferrying over of the coaches and waggon. It would appear that not more than one of them was transported on the same tide, and we may take it that some larger craft than the ferry-boat was employed for this purpose.

The journey to Holyhead was made on 2nd January. Lord Clarendon writes, that though, by Lord Bulkeley's care in sending pioneers before, the way was made as good as was possible, "still it was worse than ever I yet went." He found two yachts and three packets waiting for him at Holyhead.[1]

Captain Greenvile Collins' charts were published in 1693, but his survey was completed some years earlier. He tells us that a yacht was placed at his disposal, in 1681, and that he had spent seven years upon the work; and an entry in John Evelyn's Diary, dated 2nd February, 1683, states that the survey had then been completed from the mouth of the Thames as far as Wales. It is thus probable that the chart of the Straits was made in 1683, or at latest, in 1684.

Two roads across the sands are indicated. One passes below Penmaen Mawr and then proceeds, more or less directly, towards Beaumaris. This is named "Low Water Way," both below Penmaen Mawr, and also where it reaches the ferry. The second road commences to the westward of Penmaen Mawr, and at first converges on the "Low Water Way"; but, about the middle of the sands, turns away in a south-westerly direction. A little later, however, it curves round once more in the direction of Beaumaris, and reaches the channel a little way to the westward of the "Low Water Way," but opposite Beaumaris, and not the Point. The same "Ferry" covers the termination of both roads. We may also note that where the roads are near each other, in the middle of the sands, a branch from the second road leads on into the "Low Water Way"; which we interpret as meaning that though one might not be able to pass below Penmaen Mawr, one might still follow the more direct "Low Water Way" to the ferry.[1]

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[1] *Hyde Correspondence.*

One cannot, unfortunately, fix the precise date of the removal of the ferry from the Green, to the Point; but it appears to have taken place within a few years of Captain Collins' visit to the Straits. One is naturally inclined to associate this removal with the arrival, upon the scene, of the coach. No wheeled vehicle could well have been shipped in the shoaling water described by Dineley in 1684. A position would have been sought, where the edge of the sands dropped steeply into fairly deep water, such as we find, at the present day, as we pass westward in the direction of the Point. On the other hand, the passage of a wheeled vehicle must have been a rare occurrence, at the close of the seventeenth century, and the entire ferry service would hardly have been moved to a position half a mile to one side of the town on this account.

Early charts supply little information, even as to the line followed by the edge of the sands, and we have to wait for the Admiralty Chart of 1872 for any precise details of the levels of the sandbanks, and to indicate, for us, the higher sands in the direction of the Point, and the lower sands opposite Beaumaris, and surrounding the Swatch. One is inclined to interpret Captain Collins' two roads, as indicating that the bight in the sands, now known as the Beaumaris Swatch, with its surrounding sands of a lower level, was already prejudicing the ferry from the Green, and that, except at dead low water, it had become necessary to pass round to the southwest of this bight to reach the ferry. If this was the state of affairs, it may well have been decided that a more convenient service, and one available over a longer period, would be secured by following the higher sands, and operating the ferry across the narrow channel to the Point.

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[1] *Coasting Pilot.*

From 1691 onwards the Minutes and Accounts of the Beaumaris Corporation begin to come to our assistance, but those of the earlier years afford us no indication as to the location of the ferry. In 1717, however, Beaumaris is visited by a horse-thief, and we find the following entry in the accounts: "for the hire of a horse to the constable y^{t} went after him to stop the ferry 1s." The constable would, quite certainly, not have waited to hire a horse if the ferry had still been plying from the Green, and it is hardly conceivable that so important an event as the removal of the ferry from its old position could have passed unmentioned, if it had occurred subsequently to 1691.[1]

John Williams, who, some seventy years back, made notes for a History of Beaumaris, and who had studied the early Minutes and Accounts, seems to have come to the same conclusion. He writes: "From 1690 to 1835 or later, the ferry was at the Point."[2]

Passing to the Beaumaris Corporation Accounts we find that, in 1694, the rent paid for the ferry was £8. The accounts make it quite clear that the ferry-boats were at this time provided, equipped, and maintained by the Corporation, and that the ferryman, in addition to his rent, paid no more than the wages of those whom he employed.

A new boat is provided in 1705, at a cost of £7 2s. 9d., including two ropes and two anchors.

A larger boat is supplied in 1707. The timber cost £8 18s. 9d. The carriage of the timber, "from ye Park," cost 19s. 6d.; and the carpenter for "mak ye ferry bo^{t}," received £8.

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[1] The Old Minute Book commences with the minutes of a meeting held on 25th July, 1696; but later in the book, and following the minutes of a meeting held in April, 1761, we find several pages upon which the minutes of meetings held between 28th September, 1691, and 25th July, 1693, are entered. In the earlier portion of the book we also find included statements of account for the years from Michaelmas, 1693, to Michaelmas, 1723, but with those for four of the years missing. The minutes of the earlier years only record the elections of chief burgesses, burgesses and officers, but from time to time in later years "Orders" also figure (the earliest is in 1723), and one is inclined to conclude that if an "Order" for the removal of the ferry had been made during the earlier period, it would have been recorded. The ferry figures prominently in the statements of account; but here, again, those for the years ending Michaelmas, 1696, 1709, 1714, and 1722 are missing. We cannot, therefore, claim to have definitely established our case for the removal of the ferry prior to 1691.

[2] Kinmel MSS. No. 31 (N.L.W.). "Notes and Extracts bearing upon the History of the Town and Corporation of Beaumaris." With date "11th April, 1860," and with a note that he "hopes perhaps at a later date to work them up in a proper and correct manner."

Total, £17 18s. 3d. The carpenter, in this case, appears to have supplied the ironwork.

Another boat is built in 1718. This time the carpenter is paid £21 15s. 0d. for making the ferry-boat, and evidently himself provided the timber; but an additional £3 1s. 3d. is paid for iron, and the making of an anchor, sundry bolts, and 1,400 "nailes wth ruffes." A further 9s. 6d. is paid for three cables for the boat, making the total cost £25 5s. 9d.

In 1721 we find still another boat under construction. The timber is brought from Coetmor, and there are payments for sawing and carriage to the water side. English iron is bought, at 2½d. the pound, and Swedish at 2¼d., and there are payments to the smith for making an anchor, "nayles," and other items. "Rush Ropes" are purchased; and Richard Evans, the carpenter, is paid 1s. per day while making the oars. The boat has been launched prior to Michaelmas, 1721, as 3s. 7d. has been paid for "Ale at the launching"; but the total payments during the year only amount to £9 0s. 8½d., and John ap William Richard has only received "in part for making ye fferry boat £1 1s. 0d.," and the timber has not been paid for. The accounts for 1722 are missing, so we are unable to arrive at the total cost. All ironwork, from anchors to nails, is apparently made by the local smith, at this time, as required. We are not told where the ropes and cables came from. In no case, unfortunately, have we any indication of the size of the boats.

As in earlier years, we find mishaps occurring to the Beaumaris ferry-boats. In 1711, 5s. is paid for "taking up the ferry-boat yt was sunk"; and 4s. 6d., in 1718, for "searching for the fferry boat that was lost." The new boat, costing £25 5s. 9d., appears to have been built to replace the latter. We meet with references, in later years, to the many lives which had been lost on the sands; and may perhaps record the payment, in 1699, of 1s. "to ye ferryman for ferrying one y^{t} was in dang^{r} on ye Sands."

One observes, in looking through these accounts, many payments for the ferriage of troops. The sums so paid must have, presumably, been refunded to the Corporation. In 1694 we have "ye ferriage of Colon^{l} Wynn's troop over 4s. 6d." In 1695, "ferriage of Sould^{rs} 2s. 6d." In 1697, "ferriage of ye K's Sould^{rs} 12s." In 1699, "ferrying of 84 Sould^{rs} 7s."; and in 1702, "for ferrying over of Sould^{rs} horse & foot 15s. 4d." There are also payments for sending soldiers' luggage to Holyhead, and to Conway. No payments of the above character appear after 1708, but throughout the period from

1703 to 1718 we find numerous payments of small amounts to poor soldiers, or wounded or blind soldiers, and sometimes to poor seamen also. Thus, in 1712, we have "wounded souldier 6d.," "4 maimed souldiers 1s.," "2 disbanded souldiers 1s.," "4 disbanded souldiers, 1s. 6d.," and "3 disbanded souldiers 1s." Beaumaris would appear to have been on the military route to Ireland, during these years.

It is but rarely that we meet with information as to the rates of ferriage, but two entries in these accounts appear to give us the rates for men on foot, and men with horses, at this time. We have noted above the payment, in 1699, of 7s. for the ferrying of 84 soldiers, which gives us the rate of 1d. apiece. In 1721 we have the entry "Paid for the fferage of 3 horses when we went to Coytmor to view the tymber for the new boat 1s. 0." This payment clearly covers the payment for going and returning, and we may conclude that the rate of 1d. for a man and 2d. for man and horse, which is the rate we find operating at Conway, Porthaethwy, Moel-y-don, and Tal-y-foel, up to the the time of Telford's bridges, had been established prior to 1699.

Returning once more to the posts, we may note that in 1673 the posts for Ireland left London regularly on two days in the week.[1] Also, that three packets were now plying from Holyhead. These were separately contracted for, and the Holyhead postmaster was no longer responsible for them.

The salaries of the deputy postmasters, from Chester to Holyhead, for the year ending 25th March, 1696, were as follows: Chester, £55; Northop, £30; Denbigh, £39; Robert Jones, Conway, £35; Randolph Evans, Beaumaris, £60; Richard Owen, Holyhead, £30; and James Vickers, "Mr. of Irish Pacquet Boats," £500.[2]

In 1709–10, John Draper, of Conway, receives £48; Margaret Bulkeley, of Beaumaris, £65; and Maurice Owen, of Holyhead, £40.[3]

In 1710–11, Maurice Owen gets a further rise to £60; and, during this year, John Parry, of Bangor, and Edward Griffiths, of Caernarvon, make their appearance in the salaried list. These two, during the following years, up to 25th March, 1718, receive £4 and £8 per annum respectively. Margaret Bulkeley is still drawing her £65 in this latter year.[4]

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[1] Blome, *Britannia*, p. 13.

[2] *Declared Accounts*, A.O. i, 1954/29.

[3] *Ibid.*, A.O. i, 1958/42.

[4] *Ibid.*, A.O. i, 1958/43 to 1961/50.

In 1718–19, William Hardy, of Beaumaris, receives £10, and John Parry, of Bangor, £59. The others remain unchanged. Caernarvon is raised from £8 to £16, in 1730–31, but Beaumaris remains at £10 for very many years.[1]

When we pass to the year ending 5th April, 1785, the last year before the Chester and Holyhead mail coach takes the road, we find the salaries of our local deputy postmasters given as follows: William Owen, Conway, £147 7s. 11d.; William Edwards, Bangor, £252 2s. 7d.; William Vickers, Holyhead, £135 11s. 0d.; William Williams, Beaumaris, £12; and Edward Williams, of Caernarvon, £55 8s. 0d.[2]

In 1718, then, Beaumaris is finally deposed from its position on the post road to Holyhead, and Bangor takes its place.

In 1721, Browne Willis writes: "The Towne of Bangor, as it lies on the great Road from London to Holyhead, is well accommodated with inns." The great majority of travellers had, doubtless, long been coming through Bangor, and one can only speculate as to the reasons and influences which had, for so long, enabled Beaumaris to maintain its prominence upon the official post route.[3]

4. THE WESTERN MENAI FERRIES, 1509–1602

With Henry VIII's advent, the policy of securing for the crown, or the prince, the full letting value of the ferries comes to an end, and at the same time we open a new chapter in which all the royal ferries on the Straits are leased to the same person.

The Beaumaris ferry, under the name "Yvelaven," is nominally included in the first four of these combined leases; but, in practice, the ferry remains in the hands of the burgesses, as previously, and the King's farmer of the Menai ferries never has any say, or interest, in it.

Moel-y-don is named in the list of the ferries leased from the first, but it also for many years remains outside the combined farm.

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[1] *Declared Accounts*, A.O. i, 1951/51 and 1965/63.

[2] *Account Book of Posts*, A.O. 3, 805. The sums are given under the heading of salaries, but the odd amounts suggest the inclusion of other items.

[3] There had, doubtless, long been postmasters at Bangor and Caernarvon. The first mention of such has, however, first been met with in Richard Blome's *Britannia*, published in 1673. He states that there are "182 Deputy Post Masters most of whom have sub Post Masters in their branches out to Market Towns not seated in the high Roads." In Caernarvonshire, he places a Deputy Postmaster at Conway with sub-postmasters at Bangor and Caernarvon. In Anglesey, Beaumaris and Holyhead have Deputies but no sub-postmasters are shown.

Grant to Res ap Phillipp

By Letters Patent, dated 22nd April, 2 Henry VIII (1510), the King's "passages of Porthaythew Yvelaven Molidon Taylevoile and Abermeney upon his river of Meney between Penmon there and llanthoyon (Llanddwyn) in his principality of North Wales now vacant and at his disposition" are granted to Res ap Phillipp (sometimes Phillipps), one of the grooms of his guard, in consideration of true and arduous service. Res ap Phillipp is to hold the ferries to himself and assigns, for a term of twenty-one years, from 1st May, 1510, paying to the lord King, annually, at his Exchequer of Caernarvon, such "sums of money as any servant of his most noble ancester Edward IV lately King of England paid" and "just as John Moil and Galfrid (*sic*) Ferror servants of the said late King Edward IV paid per annum to wit not beyond 66s. 8d. for the farm of the passage of Porthaythwe £4 10s. 0d. for the farm of the passage of Southcroke and 21s. for the farm of the passage of the Water of Seynt."[1]

The patent roll has not been found but the letters are recited in several of the Chamberlains' Accounts. It will be noted that though "Yvelaven" and "Molidon" are named in the list of ferries granted, they are not mentioned in connection with the rents payable. We must perhaps conclude that they were not regarded as being now vacant and at the King's disposition.

It is desirable to say a few words as to the position at the several ferries during Res ap Phillipp's term.

Moel-y-don

Res ap lli ap Ieun ap Gruff's term of four years, at a rent of 40s., terminated at Michaelmas, 1507.

In 1508 the Bailiffs of Menai account for 46s. 8d., the highest rent ever paid for the ferry prior to the nineteenth century, and show the unnamed farmer of the passage of "llannedan alias Boneydon" as having paid this amount to the Chamberlain.[2]

The next extant account is that for the year 4–5 Henry VIII (1512–13). Here we are told that the passage had been demised to Meredith ap Thomas and his assigns, from Michaelmas, 23 Henry VII (1507), for eight years, at a rent of 40s. as before paid and 12d. of increment, i.e. for 41s.[3] Thus, the letting at 46s. 8d. is ignored. But there is something a little dubious about the proceeding, as, at the end of Meredith's term, there are two years each of which is said to be his eighth and last.

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[1] M.A. Hen. VIII, 5423. Acct. of Wm. Gruff., Knt., Chamberlain (for 6–7 Hen. VIII).

[2] M.A. Hen. VII, 1621 Anglesey.

[3] M.A. Hen. VIII, 4648 Anglesey.

Nothing is said about any further lease, but Meredith continues to hold the ferry year after year. In 1533, and subsequently, his name is given as Meredith ap Thomas ap Meredith, Esq., and he continues to figure as the farmer of the ferry until Michaelmas, 5 Mary (1557). Throughout this period the ferry is returned as demised to him, at 41s. per annum, and neither Res ap Phillipp nor his successor Richd. Gifforde is mentioned in connection with it.[1]

Meredith ap Thomas ap Meredith, Esq., would, presumably, be well known locally, and it seems unlikely that his name should have continued to figure in the accounts after his death, or after the ferry had passed into other hands. Our interest in him centres in his identity. Was he the Meredydd ap Thomas ap Meredydd whom Rowlands represents as the head of the Porthamel family about this time? In his tabular statement (*Arch. Camb.,* Vol. IV [1849], p. 285) Rowlands dates him, "circa 1475"; but elsewhere (Vol. IV, p. 114), he is shown as witnessing a deed in 1514. If our Meredith is the same person, and if the connection of the family with Porthamel can be established, then the withholding of the Moel-y-don ferry from the combined farm, and its continuance in Meredith's hands for so long a period, might suggest the recognition of some claim in connection with the ferry, and might perhaps be regarded as lending a certain support to the view that this family had been the early holders of the Llanidan ferry.

Abermenai

At the end of Henry VII's reign, Hoell ap lli ap Ieun ap Gruff is holding the ferry at £3 17s. 8d. per annum, the highest rent received during the reign, but below the £4 10s. 0d. of earlier days.[2]

By Letters Patent, dated 10th July, 2 Henry VIII (1510), the passage of Southcroke, in combination with other premises in Caernarvonshire, is granted to Hoell ap lli and his assigns for a term of eight years from the previous 1st of May, "rendering therefor annually . . . such and so much rent as any other or any others paid .. . in the times of the late King his father of famous memory to wit . . . for the passage of Southcroke 77s. 8d." The several rents are to be paid in the commote where the premises lie, and Southcroke is entered as in Dindaethwy.[3]

These letters are dated subsequently to those to Res ap Phillipp, and the latter is treated somewhat hardly. He is to pay such rent as any servant of Edward IV paid, and it has been made out that John Moil paid £4 10s. 0d. Consequently, Res Phillipp receives from Southcroke £3 17s. 8d., and has to pay £4 10s. 0d.

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[1] M.A. Hen. VIII, 4683 Anglesey to M.A. P. & M. 369 Anglesey.

[2] M.A. Hen. VII, 1621 Anglesey.

[3] M.A. Hen. VIII, 4910 Caernarvon.

Tal-y-foel

At the end of Henry VII's reign, Ithell ap Thomas was holding "the passage or ferry of the water of Seynt called "Talevoill," for a term of four years from Michaelmas, 1507, at a rent of 23s. 4d. He continues to hold the ferry, "at the lords pleasure," and at the same rent, for many years after the end of his term.[1]

Porthaethwy

Lli ap Eign ap Ieun Coke was holding the ferry at the end of Henry VII's reign, at a rent of £18 13s. 4d. The rent continues at the same figure, during Res ap Phillipp's term, but the name of the tenant is not given.[2]

Res ap Phillipp's interest in the ferries

Up to Michaelmas, 6 Henry VIII (1514), the Bailiff of Dindaethwy shows the rent of £18 13s. 4d. for Porthaethwy, and of £3 17s. 8d. for Southcroke, as paid to the Chamberlain by the farmers of the ferries; and the Caernarvon Bailiffs similarly account for the rent of 23s. 4d. in respect of Tal-y-foel.

The Chamberlain, William Gruffith, Esq. (Knight after 1513), makes the following adjustment in his account during these years :—

	Rents received.			*Crown rents reserved.*			*Allowed to use of Res ap Phillipp.*		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Porthaethwy	18	13	4	3	6	8			
Southcroke	3	17	8	4	10	0			
Tal-y-foel	1	3	4	1	1	0			
Totals	£23	14	4	£8	17	8	£14	16	8[3]

After Michaelmas, 1514, the Bailiffs of Dindaethwy and Caernarvon themselves make the adjustments, showing £14 14s. 4d. and 2s. 4d. respectively, as allowed to the use of Res ap Phillipp, and showing the three rents, totalling £8 17s. 8d. as paid to the Chamberlain by the three farmers.[4]

[1] M.A. Hen. VIII, 4909 Caernarvon *et subs.*

[2] M.A. Hen. VIII, 4648 Anglesey *et subs.*

[3] M.A. Hen. VIII, 5419 to M.A. Hen. VIII, 5423.

[4] M.A. Hen. VIII, 4651 Anglesey, and M.A. Hen. VIII, 4913 Caernarvon.

The accounts thus seem to indicate that the ferries continued to be let by the Chamberlain, or by grants from the Crown, as previously, and that Res ap Phillipp had no concern with them, beyond drawing the balance due to him.

John Kerver, to whom reference has already been made at Beaumaris, must have been well known at Porthaethwy, during Res ap Phillipp's term. His accounts show recurring payments for the "passage," or "conducte," or "caryage," of his workmen with their tools, also, "for the said John Kerver with his horse ferrying." He, unfortunately, always pays round sums covering "sundrye times," and so fails to give us the rates of ferriage at this time. Occassionally he names the ferrymen. Thus, John Moythey holds the position in 1516, and David ap Edward is "passynger at Porthaithwe" during the years 1528–30.[1] John Kerver was already in evidence, during Henry VII's reign, in charge of the mill-stone quarries, and was consulted by Thomas Heton.

Grant to Richard Gifforde

By Letters Patent, dated at Caernarvon, 1st April, 18 Henry VIII (1527), the King's "passages of Porthaithwe Yvelaven Molydon Tallevoyll and Abermeney upon his river of Meney between Penmon there and llanthion" are conceded to the King's beloved servant Richard Gifforde, one of the grooms of his chamber, to have and to hold "with all and singular the dues profits commodities and emoluments to the same pertaining to the aforesaid Richard Gifforde and his assigns for the term of twenty one years." The lease is to commence from 1st May, 1531, upon which day the grant to Res ap Phillipp will be determined, and Richard Gifforde is to render to the lord King, to his exchequer at Caernarvon, such sums of money, annually, as Res ap Phillipp, or his assigns, paid or ought to have paid for the premises, and not more.[2]

Second Grant to Richard Gifforde

By Letters Patent, dated at Westminster, 9th June, 28 Henry VIII (1536), the same passages are conceded and demised to the King's beloved servant, Richard Gifforde, one of the sewers of his chamber, for a term of forty years from Easter last past. The rents payable are again the same as Res Phillipp had paid, and are to be paid "to our exchequer of Caernarvon, to the hand of our Chamberlain of North Wales or his deputy."[3]

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[1] Excheq. K.R. Accts., E. 101, 488–489.

[2] M.A. Hen. VIII, 4683 Anglesey.

[3] L.R.I., Vol. 213, fo. 344 (N. Wales, Vol. 2).

The Bailiffs continue to adjust the rents between Richard Gifforde and the Crown up to 1536, as they had done in the case of Res Phillipp, but from this year, which marks the commencement of Gifforde's forty-year term, a change in the form of the accounts takes place.[1] From now on there is no mention of the larger sums at which the ferries are sublet. The reserved rents only are entered, and shown as having been paid to the Chamberlain by the farmers of the three ferries. It would appear that Gifforde, henceforward, sub-leased the combined ferries to local people, who, on their part, let the individual ferries to others on the best terms obtainable.

In the *Historia Bellomarisci*, said to have been written about 1669, by William Williams, master of the Beaumaris School, we find the following statement:—

> "Upon the Fretum of Menai there are several ferries from Caernarvonshire to Anglesey (viz.) Velaven Porthaethwy Moelydon Talyfoel and Abermeney.
> The ferries formerly belonged to the Crown for I find that King Henry 8th made a grant of them all to Rich^{d} Gifford, one of the Sewers of his Chamber, and the said Gifford lett the same to William son of Rowland Bulkeley Esq, 8 day of December Hen. 8.A.° 33."[2]

We do not meet with William Bulkeley's name in the accounts, but we shall come aross him in connection with Porthesgob, under circumstances which suggest that this lease of 8th December, 1541, which William Williams appears to have seen, did not, perhaps, mark the commencement of his tenure of the ferries; and according to a statement which we shall presently meet with, some member of the family of Lloyd, of Bodwine, in Anglesey, had prior to 1550 succeeded William Bulkeley as sub-lessee of the ferries.

Though Richard Gifford does not appear during his lifetime to have assigned his grant to any of these local parties, he had conveyed a share in it to one of his fellow servants at Court, if we correctly interpret the terms of the Will of which a brief abstract is appended.

Will of Rhys Powell—dated 12th October, 1556—proved 10th May, 1557.[3]

He desires to be buried in the church of Aldermary. The Will is witnessed by Robert Banke, curate at Aldermary, to whom there is a bequest of clothes.

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[1] M.A. Heny. VIII, 4952 Caernarvon, and 4687 Anglesey.

[2] *Arch. Camb.*, Supp. Vol., 1917, p. 275.

[3] P.C.C., 13 Wrastley.

There is to be paid the sum of £20 11s. 5½d. to the Queen, for first fruits of the Deanery of Bangor; and his cousin, Robert Meredith, receives a small bequest, and is appointed Executor.

Then we have the following clause: "Also I bequeath my moietie upon the ferys in North Wales called Porthathwy Bonedon with the rest that followe as more playnlie dothe appere by the release of my moytie aforesaid made to me by John Baker the Quenes servante dwellinge at the three Tuns in Newgate Market to my two brethren Thomas and Evan."

The said Thomas and Evan and his sister Katherine are appointed residuary legatees. No other relatives are mentioned, nor is there any indication of any association with Wales, except the reference to the Deanery of Bangor.

Browne Willis shows "Rhese Powell" to have been Dean of Bangor, from 1554, up to the time of his death, in 1557.[1]

Another will of this period bequeaths an interest in one of our ferries, but the bequest in this case is of a different character.

Will of Meurik Lewes—dated 30th November, 1537—proved 6th December, 1537.[2]

He is residing near Crowell (in Oxfordshire ?) and desires to be buried in the church there. But he has interests and connections in Anglesey. He leaves a cow to his daughter "Alys Bulkeley" and larger bequests of cattle and sheep to two other daughters. To his son William, "the ferme of the Myll of Tres Mibion Meurik."

To his son Reignolde," my Interest and title of and in a certayne close called Kay glayn y more in the hamlet of Trefri and my Interest and taking of and in the passage of swyddycruc upon the salt River of Menay."

He apparently hold grants of the mill of "Bodronyn" and of the farm of "Aberffraw" and leaves his interests here to his sons, Richard, Owen, and Edmond. He names as Supervisor of his Will his brother, Sir Edmond Lewes, parson of "Eggloyssaell" (Llangadwaladr).

The holder under Gifforde was, doubtless, making his subtenants, the actual occupiers of the ferries, provide and maintain the boats, and one is inclined to surmise that Meurik Lewes had advanced money to the ferryman at Abermenai for this purpose against an annual payment of interest or, perhaps, a share in the profits. So far as concerns Abermenai, we shall find, later in this century, that the ferrymen were made responsible for the maintenance of the ferry-house also.

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[1] Willis, *Bangor*, p. 126.

[2] P.C.C., 12 Dyngeley.

Notes of these wills were published by D. R. Thomas in *Arch. Camb.* (1) in 1881, p. 83, and (2) in 1878, p. 149. In the latter "swyddycruc" is spelt "swyddycrue." The present writer is assured that the last letter is "c." It may be assumed that the ferry referred to is Southcroke.

Letter from Sir Richard Bulkeley to Thomas Cromwell

In 1536, Sir Richard Bulkeley, who had for several years been acting as deputy to the Chamberlain, Henry Norres, himself becomes Chamberlain. Three years later, in 1539, we find him corresponding with Cromwell regarding the defence of the coast. In a letter from Beaumaris, dated 9th April, after enlarging upon the exposed position of Anglesey, lying open to all countries, he writes: "And there is but thre passages vppon the wat(er) betwene Caernshire and Anglesey / And some of the passages be a myle ou(er) / And the best of the thre is further than any man can shote ou(er) with a flyer / And non of the boytes will not carye passing a dosen or xvj men att ones / So that if the King's Enymyes should fortune to arryve within the King's Ile of Anglesey / I wold not giff one grote for any helpe that they of Caernshire cold do vnto theym of Anglesey / although they were redy att the wat(er) side / but what the Ile of Anglesey may Do of hit self / wherein is not passing Sixe or Seven hundred men able to make any defense."[1]

There is nothing to indicate which the three passages referred to were. They might be the three held by Richard Gifforde at this time, or Sir Richard may have been concerning himself only with the Beaumaris end of the Straits. It is clear that he is not out to exaggerate the efficiency of the ferries. What he particularly wants, at the moment, is to be supplied with a couple of gunners and some good ordnance and powder, "for the defense of the King's howse in Bewmares which standeth in most iopardy and danger." This is the first reference to the carrying capacity of the Menai ferry-boats which we have met with, and we must make the best of it.

As has already been mentioned, "the farm of the passage of Meney called llannedan alias Boneydon" is returned as demised to Meredith ap Thomas ap Meredith, Esq., at a rent of 41s. up to 1557.

A certain John Chefford figures as the farmer of this ferry, subsequently, for many years; but, as at Conway, no great reliance can now be placed upon the Bailiffs' Accounts in the matter of names, and it is not until 1589 that the lease to Gifforde's successor, Thomas Lambert, is noted by the Bailiffs, though his term had commenced in 1576. The Bailiffs are now rendering their accounts to the Receivers General, and no longer to the Chamberlain, and have been doing so since the first year of Edward VI's ıreign.

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[1] State Papers, Hen. VIII, Vol. XIV, pt. I, No. 732.

Grant to Thomas Lambert

By Letters Patent, dated at Westminster, 8th July, 8 Elizabeth (1566), which recite the grant of 9th June, 28 Henry VIII, in favour of Richard Gifforde, "the passages or ferries of the water of Porthathwye Yvelaven Molydon Talevoyle and Abermeney upon the river of Meney between Penmpn and llanthyon . . . with all their appurtenances in our counties of Anglesey and Carnarvon" are granted to Thomas Lambert, his executors and assigns, from Easter, 1576, for a term of twenty-one years, "Paying annually to us our heirs and successors Ten pounds eighteen shillings and eightpence at the feasts of St Michael the Archangel and the Annunication of the Blessed Mary Virgin to the receipt of our Exchequer or to the hands of our Bailiffs or Receivers . . . by equal portions. . . . Provided always that if the said rent shall be in arrear and unpaid in part or in whole for the space of forty days after any of the aforesaid feasts—then this lease or concession is void."[1]

The date of this grant is four years later than that of the Beaumaris Charter, under which their ferry passed, in perpetuity, into the hands of the burgesses; but we still find "Yvelaven" included in the list. The rent of £10 18s. 8d, shows that Moel-y-don (41s.) is now included in the grant. Thomas Lambert is not described in any way and the grant is made "for divers reasons and considerations," of which the payment of a fine was, doubtless, one. On the margin of the enrolment is an endorsement: "Hugo lloid now assignee farmer."

Serjeant Hugh Lloyd, whose name we now meet with for the first time, claims, in 1593, in a petition to the Court of Exchequer, referred to below, that he and his ancestors had been tenants of the ferries for fifty years past. In another petition to the same quarter, in 1587, referred to under Porthesgob, he states that he had himself been tenant for about eighteen years, Lambert's grant having been conveyed to him and he having previously held Gifforde's interest. According to these statements the ferries would have come under the control of the Lloyd family about 1543, and into Serjeant Hugh Lloyd's hands about 1569. We cannot test the former statement, but when we turn to Porthesgob we shall find the Serjeant, about 1572, taking a lease of that ferry in a friends name, because he did not, as the Queen's farmer, think it prudent to take it in his own.[1]

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[1] L.R.I., Vol. 216, fos. 46 and 7 (N. Wales, Vol. 5).

Except in connection with Porthesgob, we hear nothing of Hugh Lloyd's doings prior to 1590, when he for some reason surrenders Lambert's grant, with seven years of its term still unexpired, and, in conjunction with a certain Edward Wingate, petitions the Exchequer for a new lease.

Among the Augmentation Office "Particulars for Leases," we find a statement, prepared for the information of those responsible for passing this lease, and certified by Thomas Hanbury Auditor. This is little more than a recital of the terms of the grant to Thomas Lambert, with an occasional memorandum such as "it appeareth by the Record of Accompt de Anno xxiiij^{to} Re henr viij that the Rent of the said passage of Porthaithwye was somtyme of thold Ancient Rent of xviij li xiijs iiijd by yere" to which it is added that the King had demised it to "Rice ap phe his sirvant" for only 66s. 8d. per annum, in consideration of his true and faithful service.

Appended to this statement are various notes in different handwritings. One reads : "the lease to passe in the name of Edward Wingate Esquier clarke of the Cheque to ye guard and Hugh lloyd one of ye serieantes at Armes." Another reads : "The clere yerely value of the premises x li xviijs viijd. The fine according to the Rate xliij li xiiij s viij d. To be paid in hand."

Finally, we find instructions that a lease is to be made to the two parties, at the "yerely Rent and fine abovesaid" and with covenants and conditions "as in like cases are appointed." To these instructions three signatures are attached, viz. W. Burghley, J. fortescue, and R. Manwood.[2]

This document bears no date, but a docquet dealing with the same lease and describing it as a lease by surrender, bears the date 31st October, 1590, and states that the lease was subscribed and passed by the Lord Treasurer, Mr. Fortescue, and the Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer.[3]

The Surveyor General does not appear to have had any say upon this occasion. Otherwise the procedure for passing a lease appears to have been the same as that followed by the Lords of the Treasury a century later.

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[1] The variations in the spelling of the name "Lloyd" in these Records are very numerous. The form "Lloyd" is the most common and has been adopted. He probably himself spelled it "Lloid," in which form it is found in his will.

[2] *Augmentation Office—Particulars of Leases*, E. 310, File 203, m. 11.

[3] S. P. Domestic, Docquets I (1549–90) [31st] Oct., 1590.

Grant to Edward Wingate and Hugh Lloyd

By Letters Patent, dated at Westminster 7th November, 32 Elizabeth (1590), "the passage or ferry of the water of Porthaithwie upon the river of Menay between Penmon and Llanthion co Anglesey and the passage or ferry of the water of Southcrook upon the river etc. and the passage or ferry of Menay called Llanndon alias Bonydon etc. and the passage or ferry of the water of Seint called Talvoyle etc." with all profits, commodities, etc., are granted to Edward Wingate and Hugh Lloid, their executors and assigns from the feast of the Annunciation last past for twenty-one years, paying a rent of £10 18s. 8d. —for the said ferry of Porthaithwe 66s. 8d. . . . Southcrooke £4 10s. 0d. . . . Llanndon alias Bonidon 41s. . . . Talvoyle 21s. at the feasts of St. Michael the Archangel and the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin equally provided that if any part of the said payment be in arrears for forty days—then this demise so far as it concerns those premises for which the rent is withheld, shall be void.

The demise is in consideration of £43 14s. 8d. paid, and of the surrender of the Letters Patent granted to Richard Gifford and Thomas Lambert.[1]

Hugh Lloyd v. Jasper Price

At the beginning of 1593, Serjeant Hugh Lloyd addresses a petition to the Court of Exchequer against Jasper Price of Llanidan. The petition is of great length and in bad condition in parts, and some words in what is quoted below may have been misread.

"To the Right Honorable Sr. William Caecill of the most noble order of the garter knight Baron Burghley Lord high Treasurer of England Sr. John ffortescue night Chancellor of her Ma^{tes} Court of the Exchequer Sr. [blank] Knight Lord chiefe Baron and to the rest of the said Court.

Humblye enformeth yo^{r} Hono^{r} yo^{r} humble Suppliant Hughe lloyd Esquire Sergeant at Armes to hir Ma^{tie} of Bodwyn (?) in the Countye of Anglesey."

The petition first proceeds to inform the court, at length, of the Queen's rights in the river of Menai and its passages, of which "your said Suppliant and his Auncestors and his and their vndertenantes ffermors and Occupyers, have byn tenantes to hir Ma^{tie} and to hir most noble progenitors by the space of these ffyftye yeares last past And have alwayes answeared and payd" the yearly rent.

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[1] Pat. Roll 32 Eliz., pt. 20, m. 16. This grant is never enrolled in the Auditors' "Enrolment Book of Grants," and is unknown to the auditors of later years.

The Letters Patent, of three years back, are then fully dealt with, under which he has, till now, quietly received the profits of the river Menai and its ferries.

"Upon wch Ryver thear is and tyme whearof the memory of mann runneth not to the Contrary thear hath byn an ancient vsual and accustomed fferrye called by the name of Porthaythwy in the said Countye of Anglisey over wch fferry and passage dyverse persons wch had occasion to grynde their Corne in drye Tymes at grieste mylles in the Countie of Carnarvon at hir Ma^tes^ mills weare enforced to passe And did thearfore answeare vnto yo^r^ said suppliant for every tyme that they so dyd passe over the same ferry viz. for every footeman a halfe peny and for every horse a penye to hir Ma^tie^ and to hir ffermers for the tyme beeing And whearas also thear are dyverse other fferryes and Passages over the said Ryver And none ought or lawfully may transport or Carye over any persons eyther menn women or children horsses Cattell or any other things whatsoever But the same ought to bee fferryed and transported over by hir Ma^tes^ said ffermer of the said Ryver hir vndertenantes or ffermers And for everything so caryed over hir Ma^tes^ said ffermer was to have a certaine alowance according to the Rate and proporcon before recited viz for everie horse 1 penny By wch proffitt and Comoditye so due and payable for the passages as aforesaid yo^r^ said Suppliant and his ffermo^rs^ weare well able to pay and answeare hir Ma^tes^ rent reserved by the said Lres patentes But now so yt is Right Honorable lord that one Jesper Pryce of llanidan in the Countie of Anglesey gent have of late by the lab^r^ chardge and assestaunce of one Rowland Meredith gent about fiue or sixe yeares paste within the precincte of the highe water marke of his owne wronge and w^t^out warrant or good title erected and buylded two Corne Mylls vpon the soyle of her Ma^tes^ [erasure] vppon or neare vnto the said Ryver of Menai at Porthaythwy aforesaid to the great annoyance losse and preiudice of hir Ma^tes^ said Mylls And to the continuall and daylye losse of the fferms of hir Ma^tes^ said fferry and Passages vnto wch new erected Mylls diverse persons wch vsually weare wont to passe over the same fferry and to grynd their corne at some other hir Ma^tes^ Mills in the County of Carnarvon and to pay vnto yo^r^ said Suppliant the said auncient rate according to the custome thear vsed for theyr passage to and from as aforesaid dooe now for bear to passe over the same ferry w^th^ theyr corne to hir Ma^tes^ said Mylls in the County of Carnarvon But dooe altogether grynde their Corne at Porthaythwe at the sayd Jaspers

Pryces new erected mylls to the great hynderance of yo^r^ said Suppliant beeing hir Ma^ties^ ffermo^r^."

The petition then puts forward a complaint that William ap Griffith ap Davyd ap lewes, David ap Griffith ap Davyd ap lewes, William ap Robert and Ieuan ap Harry "have and dooe now of late take vpon them of their own authorytie to erect newe fferryes and passages in and vpon hir Ma^tes^ sayd Ryver of Menay and doe wrongefully carry . . . and transport . . . people horses Cattell and other things to and fro the sayd Ryver And the money thearfore due they the same Introud^rs^ And every of them severallie by them selves to and for their owne private vses have and yet dooe receave perceave and take and the same money so by them wrongfullie hadd dooe convert to their owne peculiar gaine w^th^out yeelding any accompt thearof to yo^r^ said Orato^r^ and hir Ma^tes^ ffermor of the same To the great damage preiudice and hinderance of yo^r^ said Suppl^t^ and to the manifest disherison of hir Ma^tie^ yf by Yo^r^ hono^r^able meanes the same bee not redressed and some order therein taken for yo^r^ said suppl^t^ . . . . yo^r^ suppl^t^ shall grow vnable to answear satisfy and pay vnto hir Ma^tie^ the rent reserved vpon the premisses And the same fferry in tyme will become nothing worth to hir Ma^tie^ . . . . In tender consideracon whearof may yt please yo^r^ Hono^rs^ the premisses tenderly considered to graunt hir Ma^tes^ most gracious Writtes of Sub pena vnto the said Jasper Pryce, Wm ap Griffith ap Dd ap lewes [and the others] to bee directed commanding them and every of them thearby at a certaine day and vnder a certeine paine thearin to bee lymitted personally to appear before yo^r^ Hono^rs^ in hir Ma^tes^ Court of Chequer Chamber at Westminster to answear to the premisses and to such order and direccon thearin As shall seeme vnto yo^r^ Hon^rs^ most Convenient And yo^r^ said Supplt shall dayly pray to god for yo^r^ Hono^rs^ long lyfe."[1]

This petition is endorsed as having been delivered into Court on the 6th February, 35 Elizabeth (1593). On the 28th May following a writ was issued to Thomas Rowland, gentleman, William Griffith, gentleman, and Robert Vaughan, gentleman, appointing them, or two of them, to examine William ap Griffith ap David ap lewes and his associates on oath, in the matter of the petition.[1] Nothing further regarding these "intruders" has, however, been traced. The writ makes no mention of Jasper Price, and it seems clear that Serjeant Hugh Lloyd obtained no redress in respect of the two corn mills. These had already acquired legal status by their inclusion in a grant of so called "concealed lands."[1]

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[1] Excheq. K.R. Bills and Answers, E. 112 58/36 and 36 II.

The petition gives us the rates of ferriage at Porthaethwy, in 1593, as one halfpenny for a man and one penny for a horse, and refers to these charges as "the said auncient rate," which seems to indicate that the ferriage had stood at these figures for a considerable time. It is clear that, as farmer of the four crown ferries, Serjeant Hugh Lloyd claimed the exclusive right of ferrying across the Straits to the westward of the Bishop's waters, and in this he was doubtless claiming no more than his legal rights. It is not until after 1833 that it is found necessary to specify the limits of the individual ferries on the Straits, for the purpose of excluding unauthorised intruders. Hugh Lloyd is, however, also claiming that no one may transport people, horses, cattle, or other things "to and fro the sayd Ryver" without accounting to him. Boatmen required the Bishop's license to play within the Bishop's limits, and the Queen's farmer appears to be claiming to exercise similar power over the Straits, from Cadnant to Abermenai. It is unfortunate that the outcome of his proceedings in this matter have not been traced.

Grant of Porthaethwy Ferry to John Williams

Only four years after the lease to Wingate and Lloyd, the Queen, by Letters Patent dated 4th May, 1594, in consideration of the good service of her servant Thomas Williams, grants to his son, John Williams, certain lands called "frith llomellenor" in Is-Gwyrfai, and the township of "Carnethaure" in Anglesey, and "all that passage or ferry of Porthaithwy upon the river of Menay between Penmon and Lanthion in our county of Anglesey." Certain premises in Cheshire are also included, and "all that our passage upon the Thames called Richmount alias Richmonde ferry."

Except in the case of "frith llomellenor," which is in hand, the several premises are granted from the dates of expiry of existing leases, and, in each case, John Williams is given a term of twenty-one years. Porthaethwy ferry is granted him for twenty-one years from the termination of the demise to Wingate and Lloyd (i.e. from 1611), and at the usual rent of 66s. 8d.

We may note that the rent of Richmond ferry is only 13s. 4d., and that there is a boat there which John Williams is to "keep, repair and maintain."[2]

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[1] See note, "Melin Heli Porthaethwy," p. 137.

[2] Pat. Roll 36 Eliz., pt. 2, m. 24. We may note that J. Challenor Smith found a copy of this grant in the Richmond public library and published an abstract of it in *Bye-Gones*, October, 1909.

This grant brings to an end the practice, which has been in vogue since 1510, of including the four western ferries in one lease. John Williams does not live to enjoy his lease of Porthaethwy, but the association of the Williams family with the ferry, now established, terminates only with the opening of Telford's bridge.

Will of Hugh Lloid of Bodwenye ucha co. Angles. esq.

(Dated 3rd April, 1593. Proved 5th February, 1595.)

He desires to be buried in the church of "Morharyan" (Trewalchmai) to which he leaves a bequest, as also small bequests to the Cathedral and the churches of "Henegloys" and "Bodwroge."

His patent upon "the towne of Tindryvoll" for the years unexpired and his interest and term of years unexpired upon "the landes and Closes called Caye Madoc alias Ycaye bichain in the Comot of Malltraeth," he leaves to his daughter "Elizabeth Lloid."

He gives and bequeaths to his said daughter "my patente vppon the passages or feriages of Menay namelie porthaethwy Moyle y donn alias Bonn y donn Talyvoyl and Abermenay alias Southcrooke . . . for and during all and singular the yeares vppon the same presentlie vnexpired." He also leaves her his lands in Cors yr eira and Cefn gwynn, and appoints her Executrix.

Among debts due to the testator we find the following :—

> "Item vppon Richard ap Thomas Lewis ap Evan lloid and Evann ap lln the late ferimen of Abermeney and Talyvoyle for the decayes of the howses in Abermeney sixe and twenty poundes thirtene shillinges fower pence."[1]

There is no mention of Bodwine, or of his son, Henry Lloyd, whom we meet with later. Bodwine, doubtless, was settled upon the son.

Hugh Lloyd, we thus find, had been combining Abermenai and Tal-y-foel in one lease. One would have much appreciated a few details regarding the "howses in Abermeney," of which we now hear for the second time, and in respect of which so large a sum is being claimed in delapidations.

One may question whether any other name has ever been better known, up and down the Menai Straits, than that of Sergeant Hugh Lloyd, during his term as the Queen's farmer of the river Menai. It is, however, in connection with Porthesgob that we hear most of his activities. The Bishop's waters have been in the hands of the Porthaethwy ferrymen, for long periods, during the sixteenth century, but it is in the Porthesgob records that this story is told.

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[1] P.C.C. 12 Scott.

Melin Heli, Porthaethwy

Patent Roll, 31 Elizabeth, part 7, m. 31, dated 22nd March, 1589, is a grant by the Queen, in full satisfaction of a warrant made to Peter Graye, Esq^{r}, deceased, dated 10th September, 18 Elizabeth (1576), as to concealed lands.

The grant is made to Walter Copinger and Thomas Butler, of London, and comprises premises in London and Southampton and in twenty-seven English and five Welsh counties. In Anglesey we find the following :—

> m. 34. "All those two water mills of ours under one roof called Melyne Hely with their appurtenances in a certain place called Traithe Tessilio between the tenement called Tythyn y Caye and the Church of Tessilio now in the tenure of Rowland Meredeth Esquire And all that weir and fishery of ours within limits and circuits between flow and ebb of the sea in the township or hard by the township of Porthaithwye in the Commote of Dindaythwey in our County of Anglesey. And all that rood of land of ours lying in a certain place called Bryn y Kyrogwydd in Rossayre in the Commote of Meney in our said County of Anglesey upon which land a windmill was once built.
>
> ....
>
> to hold to the said Walter and Thomas and their heirs and assigns for ever as of our manor of East Greenwich paying the several rents specified."..........................
>
> ....
>
> m. 38. "for the aforesaid two water mills under one roof called Melyne Hely and for the other premises in the Commotes of Dyndaithwaye and Meney aforesaid four shillings."

Regarding the premises included in this grant of concealed lands, one may surmise that the rood of land may have been the site of the windmill built for the burgesses of Newborough, in 1304–5. A fishery has recently been accounted for at Porthaethwy. It first appears in 1545 as the "fishery called le Borthan." A rent of 1s. is paid for it in the first year, and of 2s. subsequently, but it has been in decay and unfarmed since 1565.[1] No mill has ever been mentioned in the Porthaethwy accounts prior to the date of this grant. It is in 1594 that the item first appears, and that we find Jasper Pryce paying 4s. for the two water mills called "Melin Hely," and for the land in Rossaire."[1]

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[1] M.A. Hen. VIII, 4701—M.A. Eliz., 2863 Anglesey.

There may well have been concealment in connection with the site of the windmill. As regards the fishery, one is inclined, upon the evidence of the plans mentioned below, to attribute its inclusion in this grant to its having been appropriated for the purposes of the mill pool. Regarding the water mills themselves, one can hardly do other than accept Hugh Lloyd's account, according to which they had been erected, a few years before, "within the precincte of the highe water marke," without warrant, or title.

It is well perhaps to note here that Rowlands refers, upon the same page of his *Antiquitates*, to Jasper Price, as vicar of Llanidan, and to Rowland Meredydd, as the celebrated builder of mills.[2]

So far as concerns the later history of these water mills, we may say that Jasper Pryce's name figures in the accounts as paying the 4s. rent up to 1617.[3] After this, Richard Bulkeley Knt. is the holder; and in the Angelsey Rentals, from 1670 to 1813, the 4s. rent, of "Mol^{d}. aquat voc Melin Helye," is answered for by successive Lords Bulkeley.[4] In December, 1813, however, Lord Bulkeley buys up his fee farm rents in Anglesey, and we hear no more of the Melin Helye.[5]

A plan of Tyn-y-Caeau, dated 1804, shows the property as extending down to the shore opposite "Ynys Welltog" and "Ynys yr Eglwys," and names the water enclosed between the two causeways to the latter "Llyn Melyn Tysilio." A survey by Telford, made in 1818, in connection with his proposals for blasting near the Swilly rock, shows the same enclosed water and attaches to it the name "Tide Mill Pool."[6] The Melin Heli still survived in local tradition, but no trace of the mills is shown, on plan, or survey.

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[1] M.A. Eliz., 2880 Anglesey.

[2] *Arch. Camb.*, Vol. III (1848), p. 243.

[3] M.A. James I, 1355 Anglesey.

[4] L.R. 2, Vol. 271, 22–26 Charles II. Index 10310, fo. 45 (undated, but after 1687). L.R. 322. Rentals 1781–1819.

[5] L.R. I/254, Mo. 528 Anglesey. Premises comprised are noted as "Helye Mill," "Rectory of Penmayne," "Llanoll Enys and Irrogodorwey in Tallibolion." "Cliviocke and Llanllibeo" and the "Lordship or Manor of Gaffrogwy."

[6] Published in "Papers relating to the Menai Straits" (Parl. Papers), ordered by the H. of C. to be published 18th February, 1819.

One is inclined to surmise that the two water mills under one roof were situated in the position now occupied by the western causeway to the Church Island, and that one water wheel was operated by the water flowing into the Llyn-y-felin during the flood tide, and the other by the water flowing out during the ebb.

We may note further that the two water mills called "Melyn Hely," and the land in "Rossayre," are again included in a very large grant of mills and lands in Wales and England, in 1610. This also is a grant in perpetuity, and is made to two Londoners, Edward Ferrers and Francis Philips. We later find this latter grant cited as that under which Lord Bulkeley held the mill and the land.[1]

5. THE PORTHESGOB FERRY, 1504–1602

During the sixteenth century we have a number of records which more or less directly concern the Bishop's ferry. As the latest of these help to explain those which have gone before, these records will first be noted in their chronological order, and an attempt to piece together the story which they tell will be made subsequently.

In the year ending Michaelmas, 1504, the Anglesey Escheator gives a list of the Anglesey issues of the Bishopric, following the death of Thomas Pigot. He states that Thomas Pigot had died on 30th July, and that he had held an inquisition and had severally valued the manor, lands, tenements, etc. He gives a detailed list of all the issues, including the passage of Porthesgob, and the mill named "Melyn Catnant," and the mill, in Twrcelyn, named "Melyn Escob" ; he does not, however, show the several values, but only the total of £36 5s. 7¾d., for the whole county. The new Bishop had not so far been appointed, and possibly a detailed valuation would have appeared in the following year's accounts which, unfortunately, are wanting.[2]

After an interval of twenty-nine years we meet with a valuation of a more detailed character. Bishop Thomas (Pace, *alias* Skevyngton) is said to have died on 17th August, 1533. The Escheator holds an inquisition, at Treffos, early in September, and as from 29th September the temporalities are delivered to John Salcot, *alias* Capon. The following is a summary of the valuation in the commote of Dindaethwy :—

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[1] Pat. Roll 8 James I, pt. 33, No. 6, and Index 10310, fo. 45.

[2] M.A. Hen. VII, 1619 Anglesey.

The issues of one manor in the township of Treffos.	13s. 4d.
The issues of twelve messuages in the same township.	£3 6s. 8d.
The issues of one water mill in the township of "Trelias," called "Melyn cadnant" and of one passage in the same township called porth Escob.	13s. 4d.
The issues of the perquisites of the Court and of the townships in the commote of Dindaethwy.	£8 0s. 0d.
	£12 13s. 4d.
The total for the commotes of Twrcelyn and Talybolion is	£7 0s. 0d.
("Melyn Escob" is named but not separately valued.)	
The total for "Candred de Meney Maltraith & lleven" is	£13 6s. 8d.
The total annual value for the County is	£33 0s. 0d.

The vacancy is given as covering 44 days, and the value of the issues for this period, "after the rate of the Extent thereof," is returned as 79s. 9d.[1]

We thus note that the Escheator combines Melin Cadnant and the Porthesgob ferry in one annual value of no more than 13s. 4d., as compared with the separate values of 20s. and £4 of the Extent of 1348. We also note that both mill and passage are placed in the same township "Trelias," which elsewhere in the valuation is spelt "Trefflias," and is clearly the "Treffelias" of the Extent.

John Birde succeeded John Salcot as Bishop in September, 1539, and was himself translated to Chester, in 1541, Arthur Bulkeley being confirmed Bishop on 20th December of this latter year.[2] The following petition from John Birde is among the records of the Star Chamber. It bears no date, but must have been sent in 1540 or 1541.

"*John, Bishop of Bangor, v. Wm. Bulkeley.*

To the King

In most humble wise sheweth and compleyneth to your excellent highnes your poore orator and chaplayne John

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[1] M.A. Hen. VIII, 4684 Anglesey.

[2] Willis, *Bangor*, pp. 99–101.

> Birde bisshop of the cathedrall church of Bangor that whereas your saide poore orator and his predecessors tyme owte of mynd haue bene seased in the right of the saide church of a certayne passage ouer the water of Meney called port Escop in Northwales wt. alle commodities and proffittes to the saide passage apperteyning in theire demeane as of fe and from tyme to tyme hath continuallie receaved to theire onely vses alle maner of proffittes and revenues cooming of the same So it is most drade soonerayne that of late one William Bulkeley Esquier of mere malice and of a coouetiose mynde stopped wt. force the saide passage and intendeth vtterly to defeate your saide orator and his successors of the same foreuer to the greate losse dammage and detriment of your saide poore orator. In consyderation wherof it may please your most redoubted maiestie to graunte your gratioose wryt of Sub pena to be directed to the saide William commaunding him vnder a greate payne personally to appere before your graces most honorable counsell in the starred chamber in the quindena of Ester next cooming then and there to make answere to the premisses and farther to abide such order and direction therin as to your saide most honorable counsell shall seeme to right and equite most apperteyning As your saide poore orator duering his lif shall pray for the long and prosperoose preseruation of your most victorioose maiestie."[1]

Northing further has been traced in connection with this petition.

In September, 1555, William Glyn, a native of Anglesey, became Bishop, and we presently meet with another petition, lodged apparently about the end of 1556, not by the Bishop this time, but in the name of Richard Gifforde. This is a lengthy document, but the essential portions read as follows:—

> "To the Righte Honorable Wyllyum Marques of Wynchester In his most humble wyse shewethe and Complaynethe vnto youer good lordshippe yor dayly Orator Richarde Gifforde Esquier the Kinge and Quenes highnesses fermor of theire Riuer or water of Meney. . . . That whereas the Kinge and Quenes highnesses are seased of and in the said Ryver . . . and of the free ferries to passe over the said ryvor or water by the Kinge and the Quenes highnesses ferry Bootes . . . all manner of the Kinge and Quenes highnesses lege people thether Resortinge to passe

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[1] Star Chamber Proc., Hen. VIII, 3/55.

> and Repasse at the said ferryes . . . as always heretofore they have done . . . whereby the Kinge and Queenes fermo^{r} there hathe had and geyned muche proffette and ben the more hable to pay the rent.
>
> So yt is and yt shall lyke yo^{r} good lordshippe that one Wyllyam Busshoppe of Bangor and Rice ap thomas Esquier of theire owne mere wronge extorte power and Authoritie wythe owte righte tytle good grounde or cause haue nowe of late Intruded upon the Kinge and Quenes maiesties possessions in the said Ryvor or water and haue Erected and made dyuers and soundry bootes to passe upon the said Ryvo^{r} or water, to transporte and carrye the Kinge and Quenes maiesties leege people over the said Ryvo^{r} or water and also doe dayly occupie the said bootes by their assignes that is to say by one dd ap thomas ap ho^{ell} Ric ap dd ap thomas Ric ap dd ap Wyllym day donkin [and four others] . . . albeyt yo^{r} said Orato^{r} hathe required the said Wyllyam bushoppe of bangor Rice ap thomas and theire Assignes to take away theire said bootes yet that to doe thay have at all tymes hetherto utterly refuced . . . to the greate losse and hinderaunce of yo^{r} said Orato^{r} beinge the Kinge and Quenes Maiesties fermor there Inconsyderacon wherof yt may lyke yo^{r} lordshippe to take such order herein that the said Wyllyam Bushoppe of bañgor Rice ap thomas and their assignes shalbe Inioyned to take awey their said bootes. . . . . . . And yo^{r} said Orato^{r} shall dayly praye. . . .”[1]

The further proceedings are recorded on a Memoranda Roll, from which it appears that the Attorney General, Edward Gryffyn, laid information before the Court of Exchequer, on 12th February, 1557, to the following effect.

That whereas the river or water of “Meyney” with its passages of “parthathwe yevelaven Molydon Talevoyle and Abermeyny—from penmon as far as llanthyon” were, on the first day of November last past, in the hands and possession of the King and Queen, and still ought so to be, as in numerous Records Rolls and Memoranda of the Exchequer is recorded. Nevertheless, a certain William, Bishop of Bangor, Rice Thomas, Esq., and others [named as in petition], disregarding the laws and scheming and purposing to dispossess the King and Queen, upon the aforesaid first day of November invaded and intruded “vi et armis” upon the possessions of the King and Queen in the river and water of “Meyney,” with its passages “from penmon to llanthion,” and took the issues and profits to their own private use, and continue so to do in contempt of the King and Queen and against their laws. The Attorney General seeks the direction of the Court, and asks that the Bishop, and the others, should come and make answer to the King and Queen.

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[1] Excheq. Bills, Answers and Depositions (Early), E. 111/46D.

The Court decides that the Bishop and the rest must be attached to make answer, and that a writ is to be issued to the Sheriff of "Carnervon" to this end; and a day after Easter is named for the hearing.

Upon the named day, the Sheriff had not returned the writ, and Rice Thomas and some of the others had not come. Appropriate action is to be taken in their case, but we hear no more of it, and Rice Thomas is not again mentioned.

The Bishop, David ap Thomas ap Howell, and four others, are said to be present in Court by their Attorney, Henry ffanshawe. They ask that the Information may be read to them, and then submit a general plea that they are in no way guilty of anything "contra pacem," or of contempt, or breaking the laws. Respecting the charge brought again them, they severally say that long before the said first day of November specified in the Information, the lord Edward was seised in his demesne as of fee, in the right of his principality, of the river, or water of "Menay," and of the passages specified in the Information; "And of one other passage called porthescop otherwise porthescob across the aforesaid river or water between penmon and llanthion." And being thus seised, long before the intrusion above mentioned, he bestowed it by his letters patent, under the seal of his principality, in his castle of Beaumaris, bearing date the 8th day of October, in the ninth year of his rule, and the 25th of the reign—"shown here in court among other concessions"—for himself his heirs and successors for ever upon the venerable father in Christ Mathew, then Bishop, and his successors.

After quoting portions of the Letters Patent, the defendants add that by virtue of the said Letters, Mathew was seised in his demesne, as of fee, in the right of his bishopric, of the said passage called "porthescop," and died so seised, and similarly Anianus, Nicholas, Richard, William, Thomas, John, John, Arthur. And being so seised the aforesaid William, now defending, in his own right, and the others as his servants and by his command, entered, upon the aforesaid first day of November, into the passage called "porthescop," and took the issues and profits and continued so to take them as they were well intitled to do, without intruding upon the possessions of the King and Queen in their river, or water of "Menay," or the ferries specified in the Information. All of which the Bishop and the rest are prepared to prove. They ask for judgment, and that as concerns the premises they may be discharged from the court.

At this stage the case is adjourned, in "statu quo nunc," until the Trinity term. On the appointed day the Bishop and the others once more appear by their attorney. The Attorney General now states that by inspection of the Letters Patent, cited in the Bishop's plea, he is satisfied that the late Prince Edward did concede to Mathew, formerly Bishop, the passage called "Porthescop," which passage previously, before Richard de Stafforde and other itinerant justices of the late Prince, had been awarded and allowed to the said Mathew. He says, further, that by the inspection of a certain account of the Escheator of the County of Anglesey, of 16 Henry VII, he is satisfied that the profits of the said passage were answered for as parcel of the temporalities during a vacancy. He finally pronounces himself satisfied, by the inspection of other rolls and extents of the lands and tenements of the Bishopric, in the times of Edward III, and Henry VI, that the plea of the present Bishop and of the others defending, is true, and on behalf of the King and Queen he does not desire to carry the prosecution further.

The Bishop and the others are accordingly discharged "sine die."[1]

Bishop Glyn dies in May, 1558, and is followed by Rowland Meyrick, who does not cross our path. In October, 1566, Nicholas Robinson is confirmed as Bishop, and dies in February, 1585. After him comes Hugh Bellot, confirmed in January, 1586.[2]

In the following year we once more meet with a petition, which bears upon it the date "Trinity term 29 Elizabeth" (1587). This is the opening move in the case of

Hugh Lloyd v. Hugh Bishop of Bangor

"To the right honorable Sr. Willm Cicile Knight of the honorable order of the garter Lord Burley Lord highe Treasurer of England Sr. Walter Myldmaye Knight Chauncello^{r} of her Ma^{te} Eschequer Sr Roger Manwood Knight Lord Chiefe Baron of her Maiesties honorable Corte of Exchequer and other her Maiesties Barons of the same Courte.

In most humble manner sheweth and Complayneth vnto yo^{r} good Lordshippes Hugh ffl ud gentleman one of hir Maiesties

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[1] Memoranda Roll, E., K.R.159/337.

[2] Willis, *Bangor.*

S^{r}iantes at Armes That whereas hir Maiestie by hir Letters Patentes dated the eight daye of Maye in the eight yere of hir Maiesties Reigne did demyse and graunte to Thomas Lambert the Passaeges and fferriages of the water of Porthaithewe Yvelaven Molydon Talevoyle and Abermennye vpon the Ryver Meney between Penmon and [tear] in hir Maiesties Principalitye of North wales and all other proffyttes Commodities Advantages Emolum^{tes} and Heredytam^{tes} whatsoever wth appurtenaunces the said Passages or fferryes in anye wyse belonginge or apperteyning—[the petition at great length explains that the grant to Thomas Lambert was for the term of twenty-one years from Easter, 1576, or from the end of former grant by Henry VIII to Richard Gifforde]—which said tearme and Interest of one and Twentye yeres demysed by hir Maiestie in forme aforesaid togethir with the Estate of the saied Richard Gyfford came and are lawfullye Conveyed to yo^{r} Lordshippes saied Supplyaunt By reason wherof he is and hath byne possessed therof by the space of eighteene yeares or theraboutes and had the vse therof and taken the benefittes and proffytes therof and well and truelye paied to hir Maiestye the saied yerelye Rente of Tenne powndes eighteene Shillinges eight pence But so yt is right honorable Lordes that Hughe the nowe Busshoppe of Bangor vniustlye pretendinge to have parte of the Passages and fferryes of Porthaythwye called ygarthe hath appoynted and caused William Gryffyn of Richley David Lloyd ap Robert alias Daydonkin [and others] to disturbe your Supplyaunt of parte of the saied Passages and fferryes and of the profyttes and Commodyties thereof Soe that your Supplyaunte nor his vndertenauntes cannot peaceablye and quietlye have and enuoye the same as he ought to doe to the preiudice and decaye of her Maiesties saied Rente and fferme and allso to the great Losse and Hinderance of your Supplyaunte and wherbye he is the lesse able to paye the saied Rent and ffearm In tender Consideracon wherof maye yt please your good Lordshippes the premisses Consydered to graunte your Supplyaunte the Queenes Maiesties most gracyous Writte of Subpena to be Directed to the saied nowe Busshop [and the others].

and your Supplyaunte shall praye etc."

As the result of this petition, a writ, dated 30th October, 1587, is issued to Richard Buckley Knight, Thomas Mostin Esquire, Henry Mostin gent., and Richard ffletcher gent, appointing and empowering them, or three, or two, or one of them, to obtain the Bishop's reply, upon oath, to the petition, a copy of which is sent with the writ.

The Bishop's answer is covered by a certificate dated Bangor, 11th January, 1588, to which the names Henry Moston and Richard ffletcher are appended.

"The Answer of Hughe Busshopp of Bangor William Gruffith David lloyd ap robert [and the other defendants]."

The answer opens with a general protest that the Bill of Complaint is untrue, vexatious, and insufficient in law to call for an answer; but if, nevertheless, they are obliged to make answer, the "defendants saye and first the saied Busshop sayeth that Edward eldest sonne of Kinge Edward the thyrde . . . was seised in his demesne as of fee in right of his Principalitie of North wales of the Passage or fferrie of Porthescob . . ., and so beinge thereof seised by his letters Patentes vnder his Seale . . . in his Castell of Beomares bearinge date the viijth daye of October in the ixth yere of his saied Principalitie . . . graunted to . . . Mathew . . . that the saied Busshopp and his Successors for ever shoulde have and enioye the Passage . . . which grant of the Premisses together with other liberties . . . were ratified and confirmed by Kinge Richard the Seconde and other Kinges of this realme . . . Sithens which tyme the Successors of the said Mathew . . . have quietlie held and enioyed the same . . . without the lett trouble or vexacon of eny person or persons vntyll about the thyrd and fourth yere of the reigne of Kinge Phillipp and quene Mary Edward Griffin then the Kinge and quenes Attorney generall Exhibited an informacon of Intrusion into the court of Exchequer against one William then Bushopp of Bangor and others . . . the saied William the Bushopp . . . traversed the Intrusion therein supposed and as to the said Passage . . . pleaded the grant of the saied Edward . . . in manner and forme aforesaid: which Plea afterwardes upon good deliberacon had was allowed by the saied Attorney generall And the right and title of the saied Busshopp in and to the saied Passage of Porthescob by hym acknowleged and confessed . . . And further the saied Busshopp sayeth, that a place called the Garth lienge within his Lordshipp of Bangor in the countie of Carnarvon as he verely thinketh and beleveth is one of the necessary and usuall places of landinge apperteininge to his saied fferrie or Passage of Porthescob, and that from the tyme of the grant of the saied fferrie of Porthescob made to his saied predecessors severall persons have yerelye, tyme to the contrary whereof mans memorye runneth not at all tymes of the yere (except the fayre dayes of Beomares in the countie of Anglesey) accustomed and vsed by force of grants and licenses obteined from hym and his predecessors busshopps there or the fermors of his saied predecessors to transport and ferrie over foote men from the saied place called y Garth over the Ryver Menay vnto a place called the Borthwen within this respondents Lordeshipp, and other landinge places betwene that and Beomares in the saied countie of Anglisey And from thense to the Garth agayne as occasion required And that the saied landinge places on either side the saied ryver are necessary landinge places, apperteininge of right to the saied fferrie of Porthescob And sithens the saied grant allwayes vsed reputed and taken as and parcell of the same."

There is nothing calling for notice in the combined statement of the other defendants. They say that they were appointed and authorised by the Bishop to take the issues and profits as his servants. They state that the Bishop never pretended to have any part of Porthaethwy, and they deny "that there is any of the Passages or fferries of Porthaethwy called y Garth as in the saied Byll is vntrulie surmised."

The Bishop's answer is endorsed as delivered into Court on 23rd January, 1588.

The last in this series is Hugh Lloyd's reply to the Bishop's answer. This has been dated Hilary, 1588.

"*The Replicacon of Hughe lloyd Sergeant at armes Compt. to the aunswer of Hughe Bishop of Bangor and other defendants.*"

After a few opening remarks regarding the very untrue, uncertain, and insufficient character of the Bishop's statement, we read as follows :—

"This Complainant for further Replicacon to the saide vntrue and Insufficient annsweare of the said defendants saeth in all and every matter clause article and thinge as he before in his saide bill of complaint hath most trulie said and alledged without that that It is materiall vnto this Complainant yf the Prince of Wales in the aunswere named weare seised of the fferrie of Porthescob in the aunswere specified or if he did by the letters patentes in the aunswere mencioned graunte that the Bishiop of Bangor and his Successors for ever should have and enioye the saide passage or fferrie of Porthescob in such maner and form as in the said aunswere of the saide defendantes is furnished or that it is materiall vnto this Complainant if the same graunt weare Confirmed by Kinge Richard the second or any other kinge of this Realme in such form as in the aunswere is sett forth ffor this Complainant saieth and will averre and prove as this honorable Court shall adwarde that the saide Byshiop or his predecessors or assignes never had eny ferry in occupacon or use and that the said fferry whervnto this defendant hath made title as aforesaid hath byne by all the tyme wherof the memory of man is not to the Contrary parcell of the possessions of the Crowne of England and hath byne so used and enioyed So that the said defendant or his predecessors had not nor hath any lawfull right or title in or to the same fferrie of Porthaithewe or any parte therof nor might or may lawfullie entermedle with the same by force of the saide pretendid graunt in the answere menconed and without that that it is materiall vnto this Complainant yf the right of the Bushiop of Bangor to the said passage of Porthescop were confessed by the Atturney generall of Kinge Philipp and Queen Marie or if the profittes of the said passage were accompted as parcell of the said Bushiopricke duringe the vacacon of the said Se in such sorte as in the aunswere is alledged without that the said landinge place called the Garth in the bill and aunswer menconed is apperteyninge to the said fferry or passage of Porthescob in such maner and forme as in the said aunswere of the saide defendantes is very vntrulie suggested ffor this Complainant saieth and will averre and prove as this honorable Courte shall awarde that the saide landinge place called Garth is parte and parcell of the saide fferrie called Porthathewe and hath bene so vsed and enioyed accordingly."[1] The Answer is continued at great length on the above lines.

We now have to turn to the records of the King's Remembrancer, where we find that on 12th February, 1588, a writ was issued to "Rouland Bulkeley of Porthamale, John Bulkeley of Clevyog, Henry Mostyn and Richard Fletcher, gentlemen," requesting them and empowering them, or three or two of them, to examine witnesses on oath. Interrogatories were to be supplied them on the part of Hugh Lloyd, the complainant, and on the part of the Bishop, the defendant; and the 11th of April, and following days, was fixed for the examination, to be held at Beaumaris.

Hugh Lloyd's "Interrogatories" may be briefly stated as follows :—

Do you know the ferries "Porthaithwy y laven Bonydon etc." and how long have you known them?

May any person lawfully transport over, or between them, without the license of the Queen's farmer, or of his undertenants?

Has the Bishop any ferry? If he has, where are his loading places?

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[1] Excheq. K. R. Bills and Answers, E. 112/58/19A.

Have the Bishops been accustomed to ferry "footmen from the garth vnto a place called y Borthwen" ; and have they ever set a boat from "y garth" to "penrhyn safnase," and to the town of "Beaumares"? Do these ferries not belong to "Porthaythwy"?

"Item whether doe you knowe or hard credybly reported that one William ap Rees ap Gruff. did take to farme of Thomas Piggott then Byshiop of Bangor a myll called melyn escob within the Countie of Anglise and also a passage called Porthescob in the nyneteenth yere of Kinge Harry the vijth for the terme of fourescore yeres for the yearly rent of xiijs. iiijd. payde at Two several tymes etch yf he so did whether did the said William ap Rees or the farmer of the premisses vsed the saide Ferye or receave any yssue or profittes duringe the Terme by vertue of the said lease."

"Item whether doe you knowe or hard credibly reported that one Gruffyth ap David ap John gent did take to farm of Nicholas late Bushiop of Bangor the passage called Porthescob yf he so did whether he hath euer sett any bote to transport ouer the saide water or receavyd he any proffites thereof by reason of that graunt or lease whether the saide place called y garth were comprised named or comprehended in the saide lease?"

Did "Hughe lloyd Esquier" sue certain persons for transporting in the Garth "belonging to Porthaythwy" and find them to agree with him? Were any fines paid for these offences? Did the ferryman of Porthaethwy sue certain persons "in the Byshiops owne Court" and "recovered agenst them by Twelve men of the Bushiops own Tenants ye or no?"

Depositions taken at Beaumaris, 11th April, 1588

(1) "*Gruffith ap Sn William of llansadwrn,*" aged 50.

Knows the ferries for ten years or more. Never heard that anyone could ferry over any of them without the license of the Queen's farmer. "He hath hard saye that ther was a fery to the bishiope of bangor called porthescob lymittes and boundes wherof he knoweth not but by hear saye they wear from a place called Cadnant vnto a place called porth phillip Ddu as far as he hard saye." He was Sergeant Lloyd's tenant at Porthaethwy for the last ten years save one, and had "y garth" all that time, and during that time the Bishop set no boat at Garth. He had heard of the lease to William ap Rees ap Gruff. He had heard of the lease to Gruff. ap Dd. ap John, but knows of no boat he had set at Porthesgob, or of his receiving any profit. He names men whom Serjeant Hugh Lloyd, or himself, had sued for ferrying in the Garth, and forced to agree with them; and he states that he heard Thomas Roland, once ferryman of Porthaethwy, say upon his deathbed "by the way I goe vnto I sued Owin ap llin ap Meyricke in the bushiops own Court for feringe in the Garthe and recovered agaynst him." He also heard Thomas ap Roland say that he did not know by what right he had held Garth "but hard it was belonging to porthaythwy."

(2) "*David ap Nicholas of Llanvair*," aged 60.

Has known the ferries these forty years. Knows of no one who may lawfully transport over the ferries or between them except the Queen's farmer or his tenants.

"He hard that the buship of bangor hath a Fery called porthescobbe and that the loadinge and unloadinge place therof is only from Cadnant vnto porth phillip Ddv and he served on William ap Richard ap Robert who paied the bushiop a rent therof and allso that the other syde the circuit and Compasse of porthescob is from the said porthescobbe vnto a place called goret kytte."

He never saw the Bishop have a boat at the Garth but knows that the ferry of "Porthaithwy" has had a boat there for these eleven years, by what right he knows not.

He has heard that Gruff ap Dd. ap John took a lease of Porthescob from Nicholas the late Bishop, and that William ap Richard ap Robert paid the Bishop a rent of 40s. for it.

(3) "*Harry ap John ap Res of llandisilio*," aged 60.

Was servant to Thomas Roland when the latter sued certain persons in the Bishop's own Court for feryìng over the Garth, and recovered against them.

(4) "*David ap Morgan of pemynyth*," aged 80.

Has known the ferries forty years and more. Knows of no one who has any right to ferry over, or between them, except in her Majesty's name.

"He hard saie that the bushop had a fery called porthescob between bangor and treffoes and saieth that the loadinge and unloadinge place is porth phillip Ddv."

"He saieth that the bushiop of bangor did vse to passe through a place called y garth without let or interrvpcion to this deponents knowledge but by what right he knoweth not."

"He this deponent feringe at Porthaythwy Fourtie yeres enioyed the said Garth as belonging to porthaythwy and nobody sied agaynst him and he thinketh the reason thereof to be for that the bushopps were not then wont to dwell in the countrey."

(5) "*Gruffith ap Dd ap lewis of llandegfan,*" aged 60.

Used himself to ferry in the Garth and "was served with processes" by William ap Richard ap Robert, "and was fayn to paie him xs for the purchasinge of his quietness."

"This deponent saieth that he was on of a quest to make awaye for porthescob and they made in Anglesey porth phillip Ddv and Cadnant the landinge places to the said porthescob."

Since the lease of porthescob to Gruff ap Dd. ap John, the rent of Garth was paid to the ferryman of Porthaythwy, "but before that lease he hard of no money paid any wher and knoweth not to what place the said garth apperteyneth."

(6) "*Richard ap Dd ap Wm of llansadwrn,*" aged 80.

Has known the ferries three score years and more.

"He knoweth that the buishoppe of bangor maye in his own Right fery over the Feries called porthescob and garth beinge between the said passages in the second Interrogatorie mencioned and this he knoweth to be true by reason of the graunt made to the buishiop of bangor from the prince."

"He saieth the buishiopp of bangor hath porthescob and the garth in the County of Caernarvon the loadinge and vnloadinge places are from Cadnant to porthwen and from thens to penrhyn safnasce as ocasion served for ether of them his Cariadge was generall whatsoever pleased the passengers to bringe with them to all her Maiesties subiects."

"He knoweth not of any profittes the queenes maiesties fermor had of the garth or porthescob duringe his terme and occupinge ther which was duringe the tyme that buishioppe Glynn was buishioppe of bangor."

"He never knew the garth belonginge to porthaythwy and he hath known the garth and porthescob vsed and enioyed as before he hath deposed all tymes through the yere savinge the fayr daie of Bewmareis in the harvest tyme and that daie apperteyned to the Queenes farmor."

He had heard of the lease to Wm. ap Res ap Gruff and had "hard saye" that he had received the profits.

He did not know whether Gruff ap Dd. ap John ever set a boat at Porthesgob.

(7) "*James Owen of llandegfan*," aged 50.

Has known the ferries ten years and more. He does not know that anyone may ferry over them without the licence of the Queen's farmer, "but for porthescob and the garth to Bewmareis he himself hath ferried and passed over without let or intervpton vntill the lease . . . to Gruff ap Dd ap John but he saieth that the buishiop comaunded him sythens that tyme to agree with Sergeaunt lloid or his undertenauntes."

"He deposeth that the buishiops tenaunt and others vsed to transport and fery footmen from the garth to the borthwen."

(8) "*John Bulkeley of Krymlyn in the Co. of Anglesey gent*," aged 50.

"deposeth that true it is that such a lease in the interrogatorie mencioned was graunted to on William ap Res ap Gruff by vertue whereof this deponent as in the right of his wief did enioye the said melin escob duringe the terme of yeres thereof vnexpired but saieth that his wief tould him this deponent that ther was some agrement betwen her former husband and the bushiop which then was and saieth that in that lease ther was mencion made but onlie of porthescob and melin escob and saieth that this said lease is to be seene redy. To the rest he was not examined."

"*Interrogatories ministred to the witnesses produced on the part and behalf the Reverend father in god hugh bushopp of Bangor and others defendants*."

These are of great length. They aim, in the first place, at making clear the positions of Porthesgob and Garth, relatively to Porthaethwy. They next ask whether Garth is not one of the usual landing places of the Porthesgob ferry, and whether it has not been used "tyme out of mynede" by grants and licenses obtained from the Bishops. They then pass to the lease by the late Bishop Nicholas to Gruffith ap David ap John, and ask "what rentes and services were therein reserved." Also, whether Gruffith ap David ap John did not assign his interest in this lease to Serjeant Hugh Lloyd; and whether any farmer of Porthaethwy ever claimed, or pretended, to have any interest in Garth before that lease; or whether, prior to this lease, Garth had not always been used and occupied by the Bishop's licence.

The first witness called for the Bishop is

(9) "*Gruffith ap David ap John of Bodavon gent*," aged 70.

He does not know Garth or anything about its position and only deposes regarding the lease.

"He sayth that about syxteene yeeres past as he remembreth some Controversy was betwene nicholas late bushopp of bangor and the said plaintiff aboute the Ferry of porthescob and as this deponent was tould the said sergeaunt agreed that a lease should be made of the said Ferry of porthescob to some frend of his but he hymself would not take the same lest he should preiudice the graunt he had from her maiesty of other Ferries on Menay thervpon a lease of the premisses was brought to this deponent as the sergeauntes Frend and he ensealed a Counterpane and the rent therein reserved as he remembreth was xls yeerly which rent he hard say that some of the sergeauntes fermors of porthathwy paid for a Certeine tyme to the said late bushopp but he this deponent never had eny proffytes of the same, but aboute foure yeares past the said late bushopp recouered against this deponent at the great sessions of the Co. of Anglesey the some of sixe poundes for the arrerages of three yeeres rent reserved upon the said lease."

(10) "*Richard whyte of llanvais in the Co. of Anglesey esquier,*" aged 64.

Has known "y garth" these forty years past. The next ferry to it is Porthesgob and Porthaethwy is distant a mile and a half. He never heard that anv farmer of Porthaethwy claimed any interest in Garth until the lease to Gruffith ap David ap John "the plaintiffes Frend." "After this lease the said plaintiff procured proces out of thexchequer against Certaine poore men which accustomed to Ferry over footemen from Anglesey to the said place called y garth, and the said poore men for feare of the said processe agreed with the plaintiffes fermors of porthaythwy, and further he sayeth he remembreth that when he was shiryeffe of Anglesey the said late bushope recouered against the said Gruff ap David ap John Certaine arrerages of Rentes reserved in the said lease and the dett and Costes as he remembreth amounted to viij li which he by force of a wryte of execucion levied and payde over to the said bushope."

(11) "*David ap nicholas of llanvair in the Co. of Anglesey,*" aged 58.

"sayeth that the said place called y garth is situate betwene the Ferry called the ylaven on the one syde and the Ferry of porthescob on the other syde."

"saith that he hard of a lease made aboute syxteene yeeres past by Nicholas late bushoppe of bangor to one Gruff. ap Dauid ap John after which lease he knoweth that the Fermour of porthathwy paid yeerly for a Tyme xls. to the said bushope and Caried over all necessaries from his maner of treffos and transportacion of hymself horse and man without payenge any thinge for the same . . . he never hard that eny foermour of porthathwy before that lease had eny proffites of the said passage called y garth."

(12) "*Richard ap Dauid ap William of llansadume gent,*" aged 80. is now called by the Bishop.

"he sayeth that duringe the lyfe of bushope glyn sometymes bushopp of Bangor this deponent was fermour of the Ferry of porthescob and had there one bote for transportinge of horse and men and an other boate at the garth for transportinge of footemen from the garth to the Borthwen and other places in Anglesey betwene that and bewmaresse and sayth further that the said bushope licensed one owen lln ap Myricke to vse the sayd place called y garth in the absence of this deponent accountinge to this deponent for the proffites therof."

(13) "*William ap Richard ap Dauid of llantegvan,* aged 58.

"allwais saw the garth vsed as parcell of the Ferry of porthescob and that severall persons have allwaies within his remembraunce vsed to transport footemen from the said place called y garth vnto the borthwen and other places betwene it and bewmaresse and from thence backe againe as occasions required by licenses obtained from severall bushops of bangor for the tyme beinge."

"he never saw eny fermour of porthathwy receive eny proffites of the garth untille now of late that Certaine poore men which vsed to Ferry over footemen there did for feare of vexacion and suyte Compound and agree with the Fermour of porthathwy."

(14) "*Harry ap John ap Rees of llantesilio,*" aged 55.

"did serve vnder the bushops fermour of porthescob and sayth allso that the said Ferry was allso called gwen sanffrayd and that he this deponent had three pence for Carrienge horse and man from porthescob to bewmaresse."

(15) "*Owen Lewis of llantegfan,*" aged 60.

"sayeth that the Ferry of porthescob is neere the garthe and betwene it and porthathwy."

"he sayeth that he this deponent did serve one Richard ap Dauid ap William beinge the bushops Fermour of porthescob and during that tyme the garthe Borthwen and other landinge places betwene that and Bewmares were vsed by his master and hym and reputed as parcell of the Ferry of porthescob and did not heere the same challenged to be parcell of porthathwy vntille one William ap Richard ap Roberte became Fermour thereof which he thinketh to be aboute twelve yeeres paste."

(16) "*John Morgan ap William of Bewmaresse gent,*" aged 60.
Has known the ferries these forty years past and never heard any farmer of Porthaethwy make any claim to Garth until William ap Richard ap Robert became under-farmer there and "pretendinge to have interest vnder the bushop did enforce poore men which vsed the place to paye vnto hym for the same, but he never hard or Could learne that eny other had interest to licens or restraine the vsadge of the place but the bushops."

"And he sawe his father beinge deputy steward vnder the late Earle of penbrooke beinge chieffe steward of the bushop of bangor impanell a Jury for findinge out the ould vsuell way to the Ferry of porthescob."

(17) "*Rouland Gruff ap John of llantegvan,*" aged 48.
Adds nothing further.

(18) "*William Owen ap Rees of llanvair pullgwyngyll gent,*" aged 64.
"sawe the vnderffermours of porthathwy interrupted by the Fermours of porthescob to vse there Ferry eny lower downe then a place called porth daniel."

(19) "*Richard ap William ap Dauid of llantegvan,*" aged 46.
"sayeth that one William ap Richard ap Roberte beinge underfermour of porthathwy did serve this deponent with processe for his apparraunce to london because he vsed the garth and for feare of that proces this deponent compounded with hym and Nicholas late bushop of bangor happened to be offended with this deponent and interrupted hym for vsinge the same place wherevpon the said William ap Richard and this deponent Came bothe to the bushop and the said William ap Richard desired the bushop to permyt this deponent to vse the said place for he tould the said bushop then in this deponentes heering that he had no more towardes the rent which he payde to the said bushope for porthescob but that which this deponent payd hym for the garth wherevnto the bushope answered that this deponent did not well entreat his family and yet in fine he was contented therewith because he payde to the said William ap Richard."

The writ is returned to the Court of Exchequer with the depositions and bearing an endorsement, subscribed "Henricus

Moston et J. Bulkeley," which states that, for lack of time, several necessary witnesses, on each side, had not been examined.[1]

On 26th June, 30 Elizabeth (1588), a fresh writ is issued, directed to Rowland Bulkeley, John Bulkeley, Edward Puleston, and Edward Holland, requesting them to examine further witnesses, at Beaumaris, on a day to be fixed by them.

The further depositions are taken before Rowland Bulkeley and Edward Holland, on 16th October.

Sergeant Hugh Lloyd's interrogatories cover the same ground as before; but he now seeks to discredit old Richard ap David ap William (Nos. 6 and 12), and questions whether he had ever had a boat at Garth. He also asks for information regarding seizures of the Porthesgob and Garth boats by Porthaethwy ferrymen.

(20) "*Hugh ap John of llandisilio*," aged 56.

Had served under the tenant of Porthaethwy for thirty years and had seen Porthesgob Garth and Penrhyn Safnes occupied as belonging to Porthaethwy. "he sawe David ap Morgan and Thomas Roland take the boates that served in Porthescob and garth and bringe them to Porthaythwy and had not their boates restored before they had agreed with the Fermors of Porthaythwy."

(21) "*William ap Harry of llandegfan*," aged 70.

"hard yt Dd ap Morgan Tho. ap Roland and Wm ap Rich. ap Robert receaved some money for transportinge ouer the garth."

(22) "*David ap Morgan of Penmynyth*," aged 78.

"came to Porthaythwy forty yeres past and occupied the Garth and the other places as belonging to Porthaythwy." "deposeth that within xxiiij yeres next after he came to serve at Porthathwy neither Richard ap dd ap Wm. nor any other enioyed the Garth."

"forty yeres past he came to the Porthescob the bishop Arthur Bulkeley then newly beinge gone out of the boat and tooke the saied boat and brought it to Porthaythwy and ther kept it a fortnight and afterwardes by mediation of frendes delivered them the boat again."

"he brought proces from the counsell in the Marches xxviij yeres past vppon Owen ap llin ap Meyricke and others for transportinge in the garth and they for feare of apparens and to have their quietness agreed with him."

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[1] Excheq. K.R. Depositions by Commission, 30 Elizabeth, Easter, No. 13.

(23) "*Edmund ap Griffith ap John of llandisilio*," aged 72.

"sawe David ap Edward feriman of Porthaythwy interrupt them that occupied any of the saied places and sawe David ap Edward occupy the Garth fiftye yeres past."

"sawe Richard ap Dauid ap William sett a fery boat in Porthescob and sawe him interrupted in the same but for the Garth he knoweth that the saied Richard had it not for that it belongeth to Porthaythwy."

(24) "*Grace verch Dauid ap lewys of Penmynyth*," aged 40.

"sawe William ap Richard ap Robert about xij yeres past went with their boat transportinge in Porthescob to Porthaythwy and kept yt ther tille it was cast away and sawe also Wm ap Richard ap Robert feriman of Porthaythwy transport from the Garth to Bewmares through the whole yere when any gaines were to be hand."

The Bishop's interrogatories again deal largely with the position of his ferries. He asks whether there is any ferry between Porthaethwy and "ylaven," except Porthesgob and the passages which are parcel of the same; and whether these passages "are and were parte of the bushoprike of bangor allwaies Except the Fayre tymes of Bewmaresse." He no longer claims that it is only since the lease to Gruffith ap Dauid ap John that the farmers of Porthaethwy have been occupying Garth; but now asks whether his predecessors have not been in the habit of leasing Porthescob to the farmers of Porthaethwy and others, and whether it is not by virtue of these leases that Garth has been under the control of these farmers.

(25) "*Hugh ap John ap llewelyn ap Ievan of bangor*," aged 60, sayeth that he hard that bushop Glyn some tymes bushop of bangor did demise the sayd Ferye of porth escob unto one Dauid ap thomas ap Howell and sawe the said Dauid ap thomas and "his sonne occupie the sayd Ferye by force of that demise as he thinketh and sawe on thomas ap Roland occupie the sayd ferye vnder the sayd Dauid ap thomas."

(26) "*Rees Gruff. ap Robert of bangor*," aged 64,

"sayeth that he this deponent did serve on Dauid ap thomas ap Howell which Dauid ap thomas ap Howell had taken the Ferye of porthescob in farme of bushop William Glyn for the anuall rent of fortie shyllinges and the service of transportyng him his family and his necessaries at porthescob and the garth and knoweth that the sayd Dauid ap thomas ap Howell demised the same to one thomas Roland by force of that demise sawe the sayd thomas Roland vse to transport and Fery from the garth to bewmares on diuers markett Dayes and before the demise . . . this Deponent and the sonne of Dauid ap thomas ap Howell did vse to fferry ouer people at porthescob and the garth without the contradiction of any person."

When he served David ap Thomas they occupied the landing places "From Cadnant vntyll penrhyn safnas and at fulsea vntill be(wmares)."

(27) "*William ap Rychard ap gruf. of tregwyrythyon, Co. Carnarvon.*"

Knows that the ferries have belonged to the Bishop and his predecessors ; and says that "the Fermors of porthescob were every saterday (during there farme) being the market day in bewmares accostomed to Ferry ouer people from the garth to bewmares in there owne Common Feary boate of porthescob but he sayeth that vpon a fayre day kept in bewmares the sayd ferye boate of porthescob was accustomed to be put vp at anker and to Fery no man for that day."

(28) "*Moryes ap Dauid ap . . . of tregwyrythwn, Co. Caernarvon,*" aged 69,

states that Porthesgob has always been parcel of the bishopric "and he this deponent hath seene Four severall persons occupie the same as Fermors to the Deffendants predecessors" and that "some of the Fermors of porthathwy have had porthescob by lease From some of the Defendants predecessors and being possessed thereof by such leases they have vsed and occupied the garth."

[Signed] Rowland Bulkeley
Edw. Holland."[1]

Review of the Records, 1503–1589.

In 1533 the Anglesey Escheator places a combined value of no more than 13s. 4d. upon Melin Cadnant and Porthesgob. In 1588 we find Serjeant Hugh Lloyd suggesting that Bishop Pigott had, in 1503 or 1504, leased Melin Esgob and Porthesgob for a rent of 13s. 4d., and for a term of eighty years ; and Mr. John Bulkeley (No. 8) confirms this, and states that the lease is in his possession. We find the Cadnant mill sometimes referred to as Melin Escob otherwise Melin Cadnant, and need not doubt that the mill mentioned by the Escheator is the same as that included in the lease.[2]

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[1] Excheq. K.R. Depositions by Commission, 30–31 Elizabeth, Michaelmas, No. 29.

[2] Registers of Leases by Bishops of Bangor, Nos. 100, 103 (N.L.W.).

This lease had some forty-three years still to run when Bishop John Birde, in 1540 or 1541, petitions against William Bulkeley, stating that he has "stopped w^t force the saide passage." If William Bulkeley had stopped the Porthesgob ferryboat from plying, he must, presumably, have been the holder of the eighty years lease, at this time. Our only reference to him, in connection with the Crown ferries, is the statement by William Williams, the Beaumaris schoolmaster (already referred to under Porthaethwy), according to which Gifforde had subleased these ferries to him, on 8th December, 1541. This, if the date is correctly given, would be just after the lodging of John Birde's petition. We are inclined to surmise that William Bulkely had held the ferries earlier, and that controlling both the Crown's and the Bishop's waters, and being "of a coouetiose mynde," he had decided that it would be more profitable to cease to maintain a boat at Porthesgob, and to make passengers cross at Porthaethwy or Garth.

A witness in 1588 (No. 23) deposes that he saw David ap Edward, the Porthaethwy ferryman, interrupt those that occupied any of the Bishop's landing places, and saw him occupy Garth "fiftye yeres past." This would take us to 1538, and we have met with David ap Edward, a little earlier, in John Kerver's accounts. If our surmise is correct, David ap Edwards, in 1538, would be William Bulkeley's tenant.

The position appears to be the same some ten years later, when David ap Morgan (No. 22) claims that, as ferryman at Porthaethwy, he had seized a boat at Porthesgob, the Bishop Arthur Bulkeley being then newly gone out of it.

At the end of 1556 we find Bishop William Glyn petitioned against as an intruder upon the river Menai, who had now of late made divers and sundry boats to transport and carry people over the said river, and who had refused to take these boats away when required to do so. The Attorney General dates the intrusion as on 1st November, 1556. It is the Bishop's right to any ferry which is now challenged, and he has only to produce the Black Prince's Charter and sundry Escheators' accounts in order to make good his claims. The records of these proceedings do not tell us how, or why, the Bishop had come to place boats upon the river Menai, at this time, or what had happened to the eighty-year lease, of which some twenty-eight years had still to run.

The information referred to as lacking, in the last paragraph, appears to be supplied, in 1588, by John Bulkeley (No. 8). He vouches for the lease of Porthesgob and Melin Esgob by Bishop Thomas Pigot, by virtue of which he "as in the right of his wief did enioye the said Melin escob duringe the terme of yeres therof vnexpired but saieth that his wief tould him this deponent that there was some agrement betwen her former husband and the bushiop which then was." The statement regarding the agreement seems to be made in explanation of how it had come about that though the lease had included both mill and passage it was only the mill which had come into his hands. The agreement, between the former husband and the Bishop, had provided for the surrender of the passage to the latter. Are we not justified in assuming that Bishop Glyn was "the buishop which then was" ?

We further learn, in 1588, that there had been some question regarding the ways to the ferry, upon the Anglesey side. John Morgan ap William (No. 16) "sawe his father beinge deputy steward vnder the late Earle of Penbrooke being chieffe steward of the bushop of bangor impanell a Jury for findinge out the ould vsuell way to the Ferry of porthescob" ; and Gruffith ap Dd ap lewis, aged sixty (No. 5), "was on of a quest to make awaye for porthescob and they made in Anglesey porth phillip Ddv and Cadnant the landinge places to the said porthescob." We are told by David Powel that William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, was Lord President of Wales, during the latter years of Edward VI's reign and also during the years 1556–8.[1] Have we not here confirmation of the view that the Porthesgob ferry had been "stopped," and out of action for some considerable time ; and may we not conclude that it had fallen to Bishop Glyn not only to recover the ferry, but to re-establish the ways to it also ?

Bishop Glyn, we later learn, leased Porthesgob to David ap Thomas ap Howell for an annual rent of 40s. and the service of transporting him, his family, and his necessaries, at Porthesgob and Garth (No. 26). The same witness states that he, and David ap Thomas' son, worked the ferries, and plied to all landing places between Cadnant and Penrhyn Safnes, and at "fulsea" (i.e. perhaps, when the Beaumaris ferry did not operate) to Beaumaris. Richard ap David ap William (Nos. 6 and 12) was perhaps David ap Thomas' partner. He tells us they had a horse-boat at Porthesgob, and a boat for foot passangers at Garth.

Bishop Glyn died in 1558, and David ap Thomas ap Howell, at some date, made over his lease of Porthesgob to Thomas ap Roland, the ferryman of Porthaethwy (Nos. 25 and 26). We now find Thomas ap Roland and David ap Morgan claiming the profits at Porthesgob and Garth, and enforcing agreement by suit in the Bishop's Court (Nos. 1 and 3), by process from the Council in the Marches (No. 22) and by seizure of boats (No. 20). We also find Thomas ap Roland plying between Garth and Beaumaris on the Beaumaris market days (No. 26).

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[1] Powel, *Historie*, pp. 397–9.

How long Thomas ap Roland's occupation lasted we are not told; but there appears to have been an interval of many years between its termination and the lease, by Bishop Nicholas Robinson, to Gruffith ap David ap John. During this interval old Richard ap David ap William appears to have been farmer of Porthesgob (No. 15); and the poor men, of whom we hear so much, ferried over footmen from Garth to Borthwen. The evidence generally seems to indicate that only the ferry-boat plied between Porthesgob and Cadnant and Porth Phillip Ddu, but that the Bishop's tenant of the ferry, and others, transported at Garth (No. 7). These others were boatmen licensed by the Bishop; but this licensing, it would appear, had not always been very strictly enforced. It was probably at this period that the war was carried into the enemy's camp, and the farmer of Porthesgob interrupted the farmer of Porthaethwy from plying lower down than Porth Daniel (No. 18). The statement, as to the common ferry-boat of Porthesgob plying from Garth to Beaumaris on market days, but that "vpon a fayre day kept in bewmares the sayd ferye boate of porthescob was accustomed to be put vp at Anker and to Fery no man for that day" (No. 27), seems to apply generally to times when Porthesgob was not held by the ferrymen of Porthaethwy.

Following some dispute, in or about 1572, Bishop Nicholas Robinson is willing to lease Porthesgob to Sergeant Hugh Lloyd; but the latter is afraid of compromising his position as lessee of the crown ferries, and the lease is therefore made out to his friend, Gruffith ap David ap John (No. 9). The conditions of this lease are similar to those of Bishop Glyn's lease, namely, a rent of 40s. and free transport of all necessaries from the manor of Treffos, and of the Bishop, his horse and man (No. 11). The Bishop's family would appear to have been also included in the bargain, and the Bishop's license, we find, was required before a man might ply at Garth under this lease (No. 19).

Sergeant Lloyd now holds both the Crown ferries and Porthesgob, and his tenant at Porthaethwy, William ap Richard ap Robert, proceeds to harry the poor men at Garth into agreement with him (Nos. 2, 5, 10, 13, 15, 16, 19). Process for apparraunce to london," i.e. before the Court of Exchequer, was now the inducement to agree (Nos. 10 and 19).

About 1578, Gruffith ap Shon William becomes the tenant at Porthaethwy (No. 1), and, after a year or so, fails to pay the Bishop his rent. In 1582–3, when Richard White (No. 10) is sheriff,[1] the Bishop sues Griffith ap David ap John, and recovers what is owing.

The lease to Gruffith ap David ap John appears to have ended but a short time before the date of Hugh Lloyd's petition, i.e. May or June, 1587. Hugh Bellot had become Bishop in January, 1586, and had now, apparently, leased Porthesgob to one William Gryffyn, mentioned in the petition.

Sergeant Hugh Lloyd was not going to lose Garth, and the Saturday traffic between Bangor and Beaumaris, without a struggle. As the Queen's farmer of the river Menai, between Penmon and Llanddwyn, and with the witnesses he could bring to testify that Porthaethwy ferrymen had held Garth forty and fifty years back, he doubtless thought he had a case which he might hope to make good. Incidentally, he seeks to raise a doubt as to whether the Bishop had ever really operated a ferry, even at Porthesgob. He had unearthed Bishop Pigot's lease, with its absurdly low rent, and questions whether those who had held that lease ever placed a boat there. He knew that John Bulkeley had not done so and, as he calls him as witness, he had not, perhaps, up till then heard of the agreement with the Bishop. He seeks to make the same point regarding the lease to Gruffith ap David ap John, but the latter is called by the Bishop and explains how it was that he had placed no boat at Porthesgob. But it is immaterial to the Sergeant whether the Bishop had a ferry at Porthesgob or not. It is Garth which he claims, and which he is ready to prove to be part and parcel of Porthaethwy.

The Black Prince's Charter is of no help to the Bishop on this occasion. It does not mention Garth, nor does Garth appear to have been named in the Bishop's leases of Porthesgob. Bishop Hugh Bellot, who evidently knew much more about the past history of his ferry, in October, than he had known in April, has to rely upon evidence of user, and to bring witnesses to testify that it was only by virtue of leases of Porthesgob, by his predecessors, that farmers of Porthaethwy had ever held Garth.

The issue which Sergeant Hugh Lloyd raises, in 1588, seems to be the same as that raised by the writ from the County of Anglesey, in 1350. Bishop Matthew was claiming to have his boats, at his pleasure, upon the whole of his water at Porthesgob, for carrying wheresoever he would, and charging according to the custom of the country. Bishop Hugh Bellot claims that it is only by the Bishop's lease, or license, that boats may use Porthesgob, or Garth, or any landing places upon the Anglesey shore between Cadnant and Penrhyn Safnes. We may assume that Bishop Matthew's claim imposed a similar restriction upon the use of his water, by other persons' boats, and hence the challenge of the writ.

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[1] Breese, *Kal.*

The Black Prince's Charter, of 1351, concedes to the Bishops a certain passage near the town of Bangor, called "Porthescop" ; but does not, explicitly at all events, concede any wider claims. Sergeant Hugh Lloyd, in 1588, is ready to let the Bishop have his passage of Porthesgob, but disputes his wider claims. Unfortunately, he fails to press the issue to any final decision.

Among the records of the Exchequer, under the date 12th February, 1589, we find the following order :—

> "It is ordered by this Court that the cause dependinge in this Courte by Englishe bill betweene Hugh lloid Sergeant at Armes, pl' and the reverend father in god Hughe Busshop of Bangor def' shalbe hearde the first syttinge in Easter terme next and shalbe the thirde cause" [1]

and again under the date of 1st May :—

> "Vpon hearing of the matter betwene Hugh lloid Serieant at Armes pl' and the Reverend father in God Hughe Busshop of Bangor def being for and concerninge certyn passages over the Ryver of Meyney It is ordered that the passages of Porthescob and Garthe with the proffittes thereof shalbe occupied and enioyed by the def' and his assigns in suche sorte as it hath bene untill the pl' shall recover the same by informacion of intrusion to be by fyne procured and to the same the def' shall presently pleade that the tryall shall be thereupon made without delay."[2]

Sergeant Hugh Lloyd does not appear to have carried the matter any further.

These records provide us with many of the place-names in use along the Straits between Beaumaris and Porthcaethwy during the sixteenth century, and help in their location where this is doubtful.

The Beaumaris ferry is referred to by many of the witnesses and always under the name "ylaven."

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[1] Excheq. K. R. Decrees and Orders, E. 123 15, p. 55.

[2] Excheq. K.R. Decrees and Orders, E. 123 15, p. 95.

The Point, which always figures in the early Beaumaris records as "Osmond's heire," was clearly known as Penrhyn Safnes, higher up the Straits.[1]

Garth and Borthwen were living names during the sixteenth century and have so continued. Of late the name Garth has established itself upon both sides of the ferry, and the name Borthwen is restricted to the farm lying some little way above the Anglesey landing; but at the commencement of the nineteenth century the ferryman occupied a little cottage at the landing place known as "Borthwen Bach,"[2] and the landing place is named "Borthwen" on Rennie's Survey of 1802.

The position of Porthesgob is given us as between Garth and Porthaethwy and in proximity to "Gored Kitte," the Gorad y Git of later days. We may note that "Porth Escop" is shown lying immediately to the westward of Bangor, upon Captain Greenvile Collins' chart of 1693. The name has not been found on any other chart or map, but one may probably regard the "Storehouse" shown on Rennie's Survey, where the little hollow of Nantporth opens on to the shore, and with a way leading down to it along the line of the present "Gorad Road," as fixing the spot for us. It was doubtless from Porthesgob that Nantporth took its name. We can only note the statement of one of the witnesses (No. 23) that the Porthesgob ferry was also called "gwen sanffeaid."

As concerns the Anglesey landing place of the Porthesgob ferry, we have seen that, in the Extent of 1348, Ithel, the ferryman, was located in the township of "Treffelias"; also that both Melin Cadnant and the passage of Porthesgob were placed in the same township, named "Trelias," or "Trefflias," in the Escheator's account of 1533. The name "Trelias" is met with as that of one of the townships of the parish of Llandegfan, in a terrier of 1671;[3] and it is upon the eastern side of the Cadnant estuary, in the parish of Llandegfan, that Rennie's Survey places the name "Cadnant," attached, apparently, to a little group of cottages upon land which later became part of Craigydon. We may well accept Rennie's Cadnant as that referred to in the despositions, of 1588, as one of the landing places of the ferry.

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[1] "Osmonds heire" is spelt in many different ways. The above is the most common; but we also find "Osmondeseyre," "Osmondesaire," and "Osmondseir." A fairly common form is also "Osmondeshey." In all forms an "e" is sometimes inserted after the first "s." There is considerable variation also the spelling of the last syllable of Penrhyn Safnes.

[2] So named on plans of Mr. John Price's lands of 1804, studied by the kind permission of Mr. Forcer Evans.

[3] Charity Reports, 1819–1837 (Anglesey), p. 743.

Mention should also be made of the old causeway, leading from the Cadnant end of Craigydon to the little rocky island called Ynys Castell. This causeway is indicated on Rennie's Survey, made in 1801, and on Lieutenant Robinson's Chart of 1835; and on the 25-in. Ordnance Survey, of 1887, has the letters "F.P." placed upon it. It is at least possible that it was constructed to provide a low-water landing place for the ferry.

Lord Bulkeley's road from Beaumaris to Porthaethwy, of 1805, and the building developments which followed its construction, have made it difficult to trace the earlier ways down to the Straits. We may well assume that the road from Llandegfan, along the eastern side of the Cadnant dingle, was the old road to the ferry. Lieutenant Robinson's chart, of 1835, marks the cottages, named Cadnant by Rennie, and shows a way leading from them into the Bulkeley road, near to where the Llandegfan road enters it.

The name "Porth Phillip Ddu" has not been met with except in the depositions of 1588. One is inclined to place it near Rennie's "Point Brynmedin" (Bryn Melyn in the Ordnance Survey of 1816–1823), i.e. below the site of the present Rhianfa, and to conjecture that the footpath leading from Llandegfan past the windmill and Ty Mawr, which now ends in the Beaumaris road opposite Rhianfa, led on down to the shore in earlier days. The present footpath to the shore, between Glan-y-Menai and Rhianfa, appears to have been made when Rhianfa was built.[1]

The "Porth Daniel" referred to by a witness (No. 18) is the easternmost landing place at Porthaethwy, shown on Rennie's Survey with a road leading down to it. It lies between the timber quay and the approach to the pier, in the present-day Menai Bridge.

6. THE WESTERN MENAI FERRIES IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

We found that Serjeant Hugh Lloyd had left his interest in the ferries, which would terminate on 25th March, 1611, to his daughter Elizabeth. This interest has passed into the hands of his son, Henry Lloyd, when next we meet with it.

An indenture, dated 8th June, 1609, made between Hugh Williams, of Cleifiog, Co. Anglesey, and Lewis Owen, serjeant of the King's larder, tells us that the lease of 1590 to Edward Wingate and Hugh Lloyd had become vested in Henry Lloyd of Bodwine, and that by an indenture of 24th September, 1608, Henry Lloyd had conveyed his interest in the same to Hugh Williams. It also tells us that John Williams is dead and that his right and title to the reversion of the Porthaethwy ferry, under the grant of 1594, is now vested in his brother Hugh Williams. Hugh Williams now by this indenture of 8th June, 1609, in consideration of a certain sum paid by Lewis Owen, assigns to Lewis Owen his entire interest, both in the existing lease of the four ferries and in the reversionary lease of Porthaethwy.

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[1] The writer was informed by the late Lady Verney that she believed that her father, Sir John Hay Williams, had made the little slipway, and the bay in the Rhianfa wall, where the present footpath reaches the shore, as a set-off for the diversion.

The above indenture is executed on 8th June, 1609, by Hugh Williams, and bears on it an endorsement "signed by Lewis Owen 17th July, 1622."[1]

Thus the position is that, at the end of 1608, Hugh Williams holds all four ferries, under the lease terminating on 25th March, 1611, and also holds the twenty-one year lease of Porthaethwy, which commences on that date. On 8th June, 1609, he assigns both leases to Lewis Owen. We may add that the two men were cousins, and very closely associated with each other's affairs.

We find confirmation of Henry Lloyd's interest, and of its transference to Hugh Williams in a "View of Accounts" for the five years 1604–8. Many of the pages are missing, but in the Caernarvon entry we find that Henry Lloyd's name appears as that of the farmer of the passage of "Saint," but has been struck out and that of Hugh Williams written over it.[2]

In the year 1608 we also meet with an interesting Anglesey record, "Robert Lloyd's Survey." The survey is taken by "Robert fludd gent," by virtue of a commission out of the Exchequer, dated 11th July, 6 James I. The return for the commote of Menai is certified by a jury of free tenants, on 25th August, and that for Dindaethwy on 9th September.

We here find Hugh Williams returned as claiming to hold the passage of "Llanivudan alias Bonydon," "Porthaithwy," and "Southcrook," under the grant of 32 Elizabeth to Wingate and Lloyd, and also the reversionary grant of Porthaethwy of 36 Elizabeth. We are further given the following particulars :—

"Llanivudan alias Bonydon.	Rent p.a. 41s. Ann. lettable value £5, by report with rent.

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[1] Copy in the possession of the late Mr. J. E. Griffith.

[2] M.A. Jas. I, 1550.

Porthaithwy.	Rent p.a. £3 6s. 8d. Ann. lettable value £25, by report with rent.
Southcrook.	Rent p.a. £4 10s. 0d. Ann. lettable value £7, by report with rent."[1]

We take the term "with rent" to mean that the "annual lettable value" was inclusive of the reserved rent, i.e. that the ferryman at Southcrook paid £7 out of which £4 10s. 0d. was payable to the Exchequer, leaving a balance of £2 10s. 0d. for the crown lessee.

With the end of Hugh Lloyd's term, on 25th March, 1611, the twenty-one years' lease of Porthaethwy, granted to John Williams, in 1594, commences, and this ferry henceforward—subject to any temporary legal title conveyed to Lewis Owen—remains in the hands of Hugh Williams and his descendants, to the end of its story. But the position as regards the other three ferries, during the greater part of the seventeenth century, is most obscure. All one can say definitely is that after 1611, Hugh Williams and his sons Thomas and Lewis are between them returned as the holders of these three ferries for the next sixty years. Their rights are never challenged during their lives, but when they have all departed, there is much speculation as to the title by which they had held.

The accounts of the Bailiffs of Dindaethwy, Menai, and Caernarvon are no longer of any assistance to us. They continue during James I's reign, to quote the grant to Thomas Lambert, and they return the rents as paid by farmers unnamed.

We find, however, a file of "Receipts" which show Thomas Trafford acknowledging the half-yearly payment of the rents of all four ferries by Hugh Williams between 1611 and 1619;[2] and we have certain "Views of Accounts" covering the years 1625–1641, which return Hugh Williams as the farmer of all four ferries throughout this period.[3]

Lewis Owen never figures as the farmer, or as paying the rent of any of the ferries, but in a statement of payments made to Adam Newton, Receiver of Prince Charles, we find the following entry:—

> "Anglisey and Carnarvon 17th July, 1622. Lewes Owen esq^r for his whole fyne for certen Ferries and Fishings w^th in the Counties of Anglisey and Carnarvon the some of xxxli."[4]

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[1] L.R. 2/205.

[2] M.A. Jas. I, 1698, and L.R. 6/167.

[3] L.R. 8/376 Anglesey, and L.R. 8/364 Caernarvon.

[4] E. 407 (Exchequer of Receipt Miscellanea), Box 7, Roll 152.

This shows that Lewis Owen did secure a grant, about this date, which presumably comprised more than one of the ferries; and we shall also, in 1637, meet with evidence that Moel-y-don had been demised to him. It will be noted that the date, upon which this fine is paid, is the same as that upon which he is stated to have signed the indenture of 8th June, 1609. One concludes that the purpose of this indenture was, by making Lewis Owen the legal holder of the ferries, to place him in a more favourable position for securing a further grant, or grants; and that the date, 17th July, 1622, marks the completion of his task. It is evident that any grant which he did secure, was passed on to Hugh Williams. He died early in 1624, and his will, in which he is described as Lewis Owen of Twickenham, was proved on 5th May of that year, by his cousin Hugh Williams, whom he appoints "Executor concerning all my business in Wales." The will contains no reference to any ferry.[1]

Any grant secured, about 1622, must have been conveyed to Lewis Owen by Sir Henry Hobart and his co-trustees of the ninety-nine year term, with which we have become acquainted at Conway; and it will be remembered that Okeley and Williams obtained a lease of the Conway ferries, in 1627, for the remainder of the ninety year term, at doubled rents.

In this same year, 1627, we find the rent payable for the Moel-y-don ferry, which has hitherto stood at 41s., returned for the second half-year at 41s. with 20s. 6d. of increment, and for 1628 at £4 2s. 0d. We naturally jump to the conclusion that Lewis Owen must have secured a lease of Moel-y-don, commencing in 1627, on terms similar to those obtained by Okeley and Williams at Conway. We find, however, that while the doubled rent is duly paid at Conway, Hugh Williams continues to pay 41s. and no more in respect of Moel-y-don; and that after figuring as the rent payable for seven years, the £4 2s. 0d. disappears, and the 41s. takes its accustomed place once more. The "View of Accounts" affords us no explanation.[2]

Grant to White Steventon and Perkins under which the Portbaethwy Ferry passes in perpetuity

15th September, 1629.

The Letters Patent commence with the recital of an Indenture of 14th August, 1628, between the King and certain members of his Council, of the one part, and Alan Apsley Knt., Lieutenant of the Tower of London, of the other part. Under this Indenture it was agreed that in satisfaction of a debt of £20,000, part of a larger sum owing to Alan Apsley, houses, manors, lands, etc., of a clear annual value of £740 5s. 8½d., should be granted to Alan Apsley, his heirs and assigns, or to persons nominated by Alan Apsley, their heirs and assigns, in perpetuity.

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[1] P.C.C. 36 Byrde.

[2] L.R. 8/376.

By a subsequent Indenture it is conceded that in consideration of £280 paid by Alan Apsley, all the manors, lands, etc., are to be held in free and common soccage.

We then have a recital of the Indenture of 10th January, 14 James I, under which the King conveyed to Sir Francis Bacon and others for a term of ninety-nine years—*inter alia* "all that County and Lordship of Anglesey."

Next comes an Indenture of 27th July, 1629, under which John Walter, James Fullerton, and Thomas Trevor (the present trustees under the Indenture of 10th January, 14 James I), by the King's warrant and at the nomination of Alan Apsley, assign to Oliver Man and Walter Parkhurst of London, manors, lands, and premises in many counties, and in Anglesey the manor or lordship of "Penrosse," and sundry lands, and "All that passage or ferry of Porthatwy upon the river Menay between Penman & Llanthyon with all its rights profits and appurtenances." The assignment is for the remainder of the term of ninety-nine years (from 10th January, 1617), and at the annual rent of £3 6s. 8d.

The Indenture of 27th July is here ratified and confirmed by the Letters Patent of 15th September; and the ratification is followed by a lengthy clause dealing with the payment of the rents during the ninety-nine years' term. The most important point here is the provision that if the reserved rents of any premises are unpaid, no writ, summons, distress, seizure, or process, of any court, is to issue against Oliver Man, or Walter Parkhurst, their executors, administrators or assigns, but only against the tenants or occupiers of the premises in question.

We then have the grant in perpetuity, by which the King, at the humble petition of Alan Apsley, of his special grace, gives and concedes to Wiliam White, Wiliam Steventon, and John Perkins of London, and their heirs and assigns in perpetuity, all the lordships, manors, lands, and premises granted and assigned by the Indenture of 27th July. All are to be held by White, Steventon, and Perkins, free of rent for the remainder of the term of ninety-nine years, but thereafter on payment of the rents specified in the Indenture.

After a long list of reservations "always excepted" from the grant, and numerous provisions safeguarding White, Steventon, and Perkins against a variety of contingencies, we finally have the statement that White, Steventon, and Perkins are to hold to the use of Alan Apsley, his heirs and assigns.[1]

Having secured this very extensive grant, White, Steventon, and Perkins proceed, under the direction of Alan Apsley, and after his death, of his son and certain trustees, to dispose of it to the best advantage. One group of lands and premises is conveyed, on 4th December, 1630, to a certain Edward Page; and in this group the Porthaethwy ferry is included. Page, on his part, shortly afterwards conveys the ferry to Sir Peter Mutton

Sale of Porthaethwy Ferry to Sir Peter Mutton

22nd February, 1631.

"By an Indenture, made upon the 22nd day of February Anno Domini 1630,[2] and in the 6th year of King Charles between Edward Page of Graye's Inn on the one part and Peter Mutton of Lyncoles' Inn Knt. of the other part, the saide Edward Page for and in consideration of the sum of £100 by Peter Mutton and Thomas Williams of Lyncoles' Inn well and truly paid grants sells and by these presents confirms to the said Peter Mutton his heirs and assigns all that passage or ferry of Porthathwy upon the River of Menay etc. . . . by the particulars said to be of the annual value of £3 6s. 8d., And all and singular buildings, lands tenements weirs watercourses, pools, rivers, etc. etc."

Here follows a long list of particulars copied, more or less wholesale, from the grant to White, Steventon, and Perkins. We may perhaps note, as an example, that all Knights fees, wards and marriages, advowsons and mines of gold and silver, are reserved and excepted from the conveyance of the ferry.

All is conveyed to Peter Mutton Knt. as fully, freely, and entirely as the King, by his Letters Patent, had conveyed the premises to White, Steventon, and Perkins, and as fully and entirely as the latter, by the Indenture of the 4th December last past, had conveyed the same to Edward Page.

Sir Peter Mutton is to hold free of rent for the remainder of the term of ninety-nine years; but he undertakes to well and truly observe, keep, and fulfill all and singular the covenants of the Letters Patent, and that he will acquit and keep indemnified, both Page and White, Steventon and Perkins, against the King and his heirs, in these respects.[3] We may safely assume that here, as at Conway, the liability for the payment of the rent, during the ninety-nine years' term, falls upon the holder of the fee farm grant, his assigns, or tenants.

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[1] Pat. Roll 5 Charles I, pt. 9.

[2] The year commenced on 25th March.

[3] L.R.I., Vol. 2 (N. Wales, Vol. 10), p. 285.12.

There are a number of endorsements upon the enrolment of this Indenture. One shows that it was enrolled upon 1st July, 7 Charles (1631). Another, bearing no date, is as follows: "Sir Peter Mutton was Imsted (?) by this Grant vnto Thomas Williams, Gent. who haveing the terme of the premisses on him tooke ye Inheritance in Sir Peter Mutton's name."

Grant to Francis Braddocke and Christopher Kingscote under which the Moel-y-don Ferry passes in perpeuity

10th February, 1637.

These Letters Patent commence with the grant in perpetuity, and then introduce two Indentures which between them convey, for the remainder of the ninety-nine year term, the premises granted in perpetuity. We are only concerned with the first of these Indentures.

The grant opens with the statement that the King, in consideration of the sum of £4,241 2s. 3d. paid by his beloved servant William Hinton, Esq., one of the gentlemen of his Chamber and at the nomination of William Hinton, has given and conceded to Francis Braddocke and Christopher Kingscote, of London, gentlemen, their heirs and assigns for ever, *inter alia* "All that passage or ferry of the water of Menay called Llannden alias Bonydon upon the River of Menay between Penmaen and llanthoyn with all its appurtenances in our County of Anglisey by the particular thereof said to have been lately demised (inter alia) to Ludovic Owen Esquire and to be of the Annual Rent or value of Forty one shillings."

This is followed by a grant of coal mines in Flintshire and by numerous grants of lands and issues in Flint, Caernarvon, Carmarthen, Radnor, Pembroke, and, finally, of certain escheat lands in Anglesey.

We are then told that all the above premises had, by an Indenture of 18th July last past, between Francis Lord Cottingham, Thomas Trevor, Knt., and John Banks, Knt., of the one part, and William Copley and Henry Broad of London, of the other part, been assigned to Copley and Broad for the entire residue of a term of ninety-nine years granted to Thomas Trevor and others now defunct by the Indenture of our late Father King James . . . for our use before our accession to the Crown of England. This Indenture of 18th July is now ratified and confirmed by the King, for himself, his heirs and successors, for ever.

Braddocke and Kingscote are to hold free of rent, during the remainder of the ninety-nine years, and there does not seem to be anything in these Letters relieving Copley and Broad of their liability, during this period, or transferring that liability to the tenants and occupiers. There is, however, a final clause that if the rents are in arrear for forty days, there is to be a penalty of one-sixth of the rent for every month during which the rents are in arrear, and that the Receiver, or his deputy, may distrain.

We may note that William Hinton is never mentioned except in connection with the payment of the consideration money, and with the nomination of Braddocke and Kingscote.[1]

Neither the Letters Patent to Braddocke and Kingscote, nor those to William White and others, recite any earlier grant of either ferry. This is unfortunate in the case of Moel-y-don, as we have failed to trace any lease of this ferry subsequent to that to Wingate and Lloyd, which expired in 1611. We have, however, in the grant to Braddocke and Kingscote, definite evidence that Lewis Owen had secured some demise which had comprised Moel-y-don.

Unfortunately, also, no assignment of the fee farm grant of the "Llannden alias Bonydon" ferry, by Braddocke and Kingscote to any other party, has been found. Palmer's Indexes trace the fee farm grant of Porthaethwy, from White and others to Page, and from Page to Mutton; and they follow up many items in the grant of 1637. But they have not a word to say regarding the further history of the fee farm grant of Moel-y-don.

It is necessary at this period to make what use one can of the accounts. The Receivers' Accounts, in their more detailed form, specify the several ferries, but do not mention the tenant's name, unless his rent is "super," i.e. unpaid. The "Views of Accounts," which appear to have been kept by the auditors for purposes of convenient reference, are more useful. In these, the tenants' name is entered at the commencement of the term of years covered by the "View," and changes of name are sometimes made during this term. Unfortunately, no great pains were taken to keep the "Views" accurately posted in this respect, changes in name being made merely when information calling for the change chanced to come along. The rents appear to have been customarily paid by the sub-tenant, or ferryman, and hence, though the Receiver made out his receipts in the name of the person regarded as the Crown lessee, this person might have died, or assigned his interest to another, many long years before the Receiver's attention was called to the fact that any change had occurred.

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[1] L.R.I., Vol. 221 (N. Wales, Vol. 10), p. 196.

We have noted above, that in "Views" covering the years 1625–1641, Hugh Williams is shown throughout as holding all four ferries. In 1646, Thomas Williams' name is given at all four ferries, all the rents being "super."[1] Hugh Williams' name is occasionally met with at later dates, but we may probably assume his departure, prior to 1646.

Attention must be called to a detail which is met with in the entries of this period. During the years 1634–8, we find Humphrey Jones, "Receiver of N. Wales," answering for the farm of the passage of Llanidan, but for the fee-farms of the passages of "Sainte Porthythwy and Southcrook." Again, in 1651, we find Richard Bradshawe, "Receiver General of the Public Revenues," showing Thomas Williams, "Feefarmer of the Passage of Sant," as owing arrears of rent.[1]

During the Commonwealth period, but undated, we find a list of grants and leases in which the Anglesey ferries figure. It bears the heading :—

> "Anglesey County Parcell of the late Principality of North Wales."

and among the grants of which particulars are given, we find :—

> "14. The Passage of Porthaithwey.
>
> The Fee Farme of all that Passage . . . Soe [amongst other things] granted to William White [etc.] . . . By Letters Patent . . . Fifteenth day of September in the Fifte yeare of the late King Charles his Raigne."
>
> "15. The Passage of Southcrook.
>
> The yearly Rent of all that passage . . . heretofore in the tenure of Thomas Lambert and now or late in the tenure of Hugh Williams or his assigns.
>
> Memorandum. That upon search made the Feefarme Grante of the a foresaid Passage of South Crook the said Grant cannott be found at present but I conceave it to have been longe since passed in Fee farme and have therefore made forth this particular by the Recordes in my Custody according to the late Addicional Acte of Parliament for Sale of Feefarms and other dry rents."
>
> "55. The Fee Farme of all that Passage or Ferry called Lanuden alias Benedan . . . formerly demised vnto Lewis Owen Esq. and now or late in the tenure of Hugh

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[1] L.R. 7/110, Receivers Accts., N. Wales, 1631–1651.

The date of Hugh Williams' death does not appear to be recorded. Both he and Lewis Owen figure somewhat prominently in the Charity Reports (Anglesey) 1819–37. Hugh Williams is here referred to as of "Eskyvioge," and his sons, Thomas, John, and Lewis, are also mentioned.

> Williams or of his Assignes . . . Soe [amongst other things] granted in Fee Farme to Francis Braddocke and Christopher Kingscote . . . By Letters Patents . . . Tenth day of February in the xijth yeare of the late King Charles his raigne."[1]

Turning to "Views of Accounts" covering the years 1660–9, we find Thomas Williams returned as fee-farmer of Porthaethwy and of Southcrook, but as farmer of "Aque de Sant"; while "Lodovic Williams" is now entered as the fee-farmer of "Llanedan."[2]

This brings us to the year in which William Williams, the schoolmaster, is said to have written his *Historia Bellomarisci*, and it is worth noting once more what he says about the five ferries :—

> "These Ferries formerly belong'd to the Crown, for I find that King Henry 8th made a grant of them all to Rich^{d} Gifford, one of the Sewers of his Chamber, and the said Gifford lett the same to William son of Rowland Bulkeley Esq^{r} 8° day December Hen. 8th. A° 33°.
>
> But the Ferry of Beaumaris or Velaven was since granted to ye Town of Beaumaris by Charter A° 4to. Reg. Eliz. and the other Ferries were likewise pass'd into other hands."[3]

William Williams refers to the grant by Henry VIII as evidence that the ferries had all formerly belonged to the crown, but states that since that time the other ferries had, like Beaumaris, passed into other hands. His meaning is clearly that the other four ferries had, like Beaumaris, been granted away in perpetuity; and this would appear to have been a widely accepted view at the time, even in official circles.[4]

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[1] Exchequer K.R. Particulars of Grants and Leases, E. 147 3/40.

[2] L.R. 8/373 Anglesey and /374 Caernarvon.

[3] *Arch. Camb.*, Supp. Vol., 1917, Appendix II.

[4] William Williams' remarks concerning the five ferries were clearly the source upon which Pennant based his statement, made in connection with Abermenai. As published in 1781, in the *Journey to Snowdon*, p. 223, this reads as follows :—

> "Abermenai has its ferry, and is one of the five over this strait. They were originally the property of the crown of England; till Henry VIII granted all of them to Richard Gifford, one of the sewers of his chamber; who again set them to William Bulkeley, in the 33rd year of his royal master: but since that period, every one has been transferred to other hands."

(Continued on p. 175.)

We now come to a "View" which covers the years 1670–1674. There is no mention here of "farmer," or "fee-farmer," but, in the column which shows the tenants' names, Thomas Williams is entered for "Aque Sainte" and "Lod. Williams Cl" for "Llaneoden." Thomas Williams has also been entered for "Porthaythwy," but here the "Thomas" has been struck out and "Coningsby" substituted. "Southcrooke" comes beneath "Porthaythwy" and here, in the tenants' column "Id" has been written and also "Lod.," and the entire entry is smeared over, and perhaps meant to be erased. "Id" would mean "as above," i.e. Thomas Williams. "Lod" would mean Lodovic.

This "View" further shows the rents of the first three ferries as paid, throughout the five years. At Southcrook, the rents are marked as "paid," up to Michaelmas, 1673; but, for this last year, the "paid" is erased and the words "super beinge out of lease" have been written in. In 1674, two years rent has apparently been paid, and there is a note: "Demised Owen Hughes Esq. 10th July, 1674."[1]

For the years 1686–1689, we have a book which shows Coningsby Williams at "Porthaythwy," and Owen Hughes at "Southcrooke." At "Sainte," Thomas Williams's name has been erased and that of John Grosvenor substituted; and at "Llaneoden," the name of Lodovic Williams Clerk has been erased and that of John Grosvenor put in its place.[2]

We next come to a record which bears no date, but which, from the reference to the Porthaethwy ferryhouse, may be placed as later than 1688.

"*Schedule of Rents granted in Fee. Wales.*

Carnarvonshire.

No. 93. Passag aque Sainte. Peirceus Lloyd Arm 1 1 0

(Continued from p. 174.)

This is, however, a very different statement from that made by William Williams. Its meaning becomes more clear when we turn to the 1810 edition of the *Tours*, Vol. III, p. 1, where two words have been inserted, making the last sentence read:—

> "but since that period, every one, except this, has been transferred to other hands."

Pennant assumed that the ferries had been granted to Richard Gifforde and by him passed on to William Bulkeley in perpetuity; and meant to convey, by his concluding sentence, that all had since been transferred from the Bulkeleys to other hands. Learning later, presumably, that Lord Bulkeley held Abermenai, he amends his statement into all, "except this."

[1] L.R. 2/271.

[2] L.R. 2/272.

Anglesey.

No. 1.	Mol^{d}aquat voc Melin Helye.	Robtus Dm̃us Vicom Bulkeley.	–	4	0
No. 15.	Passag Porthaithwy.	Coninsby Williams Ar	3	6	8
No. 16.	Passag Southcrooke.	Owin Hughes Arm	4	10	0
No. 44.	Passag Llanidan.	Peirceus Lloyd Arm	2	1	0
(After No. 76, but not numbered.)					
	Dom le fferry house ap^{d} Porthaiethwy.	Coningsby Williams Arm	–	1	0.”

There are notes regarding the grants, attached to some of the entries, but these add nothing to our information.[1]

Hugh Williams and his sons have now all passed away. We may safely conclude that Thomas Williams was dead, when his son, Coningsby Williams, replaces him at Porthaethwy, in the 1670–4 “View”; and we shall presently find grounds for believing that Lewis Williams also died during the period of this same “View.”

We may here turn to another source of information which has now become available, namely, Treasury Books and Papers.

On the 28th May, 1679, the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty’s Treasury refer the following petition to Wm. Harbord, Esq., His Majesty’s Surveyor General, for consideration and report:—

> “The humble peticon of Owen Hughes—
> Sheweth
>
> Thet Queen Eliz. by her lres patents vnder the great Seale of England bearing date the second day of March in the xl^{tieth} yeare of her raigne did demise and grante (inter al) vnto Nicholas Morgan and Thomas Horne pages of her Ma^{ties} Chamber, all that her land and wast wth the apptences late of Ior. ap Kenrick als Duy late in the tenure or occupacon of John ap Griff. Llewis being parcell of one Weley called Welly Ithell ap Dauid lying and being in the towneshippe of Clegeroge als Cloggrocke in the Comott of Tallabollion in the County of Anglesey for the terme lx yeares from the ffeast of St Michaell the Archangell in the yeare of our lord 1621 At the yearely rent of 14s. 5d. ob. payable at the annunciacon of the blessed Virgin Mary and St. Michaell the archangell yearely dureing the s^{d} terme and that one of the Kings or queenes of England had

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[1] Index 1030. The entry relating to the ferryhouse is in the same handwriting as the rest.

> grted a terme of yeares upon the passage called Southcrooke vpon the River of Menay wth the apptences in the Countys of Anglesey and Carnarvan at the yearely rent 4li. 10s. which said arrable land wast and passage afores^{d} are now in the tenure & occupacon of yo^{r} peticon^{r} who came thereunto vnd^{r} seu^{le} assignm^{ts} of the Remaind^{r} of the s^{d} termes and is not able to make the best thereof for payment of the s^{d} Rents by reason his time is neere expireing.
>
> May it please yo^{r} Lo^{pps} the prmisses being consid^{ed} to grant vnto yo^{r} pet^{r} a terme of 31 yeares to commence after the expiracon of the former leases."[1]

William Harbord reports that "Having no survey of any of ye Lands and premises menconed in this peticon and not thinking them worth ye sending into ye further part of Wales to take a particular survey thereof and ye auditor Certifying that he conceives there is no Improvement to be made of them," he recommends that they be leased to Owen Hughes.[2]

William Harbord's report does not, apparently, come before the Lords of the Treasury until 29th November, 1679, when a warrant for a "Particular" is issued.

Thomas Tudor, the Deputy Auditor, thereupon makes out a "Perticuler." He confirms Owen Hughes's statement regarding the grant of the land in Talybolion, the lease of which will expire in 1681. He can only recite, regarding the passage, that it was formerly granted to Thomas Lambert and was now, or late, in the tenure of Hugh Williams, or his assigns.

He states that Owen Hughes holds the land by assignment, and has paid the rent for several years. "The other parcell being the passage of Southcrooke hath been grted by the Crowne but I find not Inrollm^{t} thereof before me and conceive the grant thereof is expired vpon the death of Llewis Wms sonn to the abovemenconed Hugh Wms. and finding the same and rent almost lost I did by vertue of my office lett the same for three yeares to Mr Hughes at the rent of iiij li. xs. per ann. w^{ch} I conceave is neare the full vallue."

William Harbord submits this "Particular," and, at the same time, makes certain recommendations as to the terms of the lease, the last of which reads as follows : "The Consideracon of this lease is the good seruice of ye sayd Owen Hughes in continuing and prserving the sayd Rents w^{ch} otherwise might have been lost and are neere ye full vallue of the prmisses as the

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[1] Treasury Out Letters (general), T. 27, Vol. 5, p. 41.

[2] Warrants not relating to money, T. 54, Vol. 8, pp. 101–2.

Audit^{r} certifyes for wch reason the Lease is to passe wthout any fine."[1]

The warrant to the Clerk of the Pipe, to prepare a lease, is dated 10th January, 1679 (80), and the Letters Patent are executed on the 14th February, 32 Charles II. Owen Hughes is granted a term of thirty-one years, from Michaelmas, 1679, upon the ferry, and a term of twenty-nine years, from Michaelmas, 1681, upon the land.[2]

We observe that there is a certain conflict between the statement of Owen Hughes, in his petition, and that made by Thomas Tudor, the auditor. The former says that he came into the tenure of land and passage under several assignments of the remainder of the terms under which they were held. The auditor, on the other hand, conceives that the term under which the ferry had been held, had expired with the death of Lewis Williams, and adds, that "finding the same and the rent almost lost," he had, by virtue of his office, let it to Owen Hughes for three years. It is clear that the Surveyor General is pleased with the part played by Owen Hughes, and that the latter, in consequence, gets his lease free of any fine.

Abermenai is thus, once more, at the disposal of the Crown; but the death of Lewis Williams does not occasion any disturbance at Moel-y-don or Tal-y-foel.

Nearly twenty-seven years after the lease to Owen Hughes, namely, on 26th December, 1706, we find the Surveyor General, Samuel Travers, forwarding to the auditor for Wales a copy of another petition, which reads as follows:—

> "To the Right Hono^{ble} the Lord High Tre$\overline{r}$ of England
> The humble Peticon of Thomas Lloyd infant son and heir of Peirs Lloyd late Ligwidd in y^{e} County of Anglesey Esq^{r}. deceased
>
> Sheweth
>
> That yo^{r} Pet^{rs} ffather and his Ancestors have for many yeares last past held by Lease from the Crowne the Passage and fferry of Llanydan otherwise called Bolydon and also another Passage and fferry of Aqua Sancta als Tally ffoyle All which Passages and fferrys are upon the River of Menay which divideth the Counties of Anglesey & Carnarvon paying yearly at the audit to the Rec^{r} G$\overline{ra}$ll for the time being of the Crown Revenue of Northwales for the said fferry of Llanydon als Bolydon the sume of two pounds and two shillings and for the

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[1] T. 54, Vol. 8, pp. 131–3.

[2] L.R.I., Vo. 222 (N. Wales, Vol. 11), p. 162.

other fferry called Tally ffoyle the sume of one pound and one shilling.

That since yo^{r} Pet^{rs} ffathers death He is informed that the said Lease by which his Ancestors held the same is expired tho the Rent due thereon has been constantly paid by yo^{r} Pet^{r} and his said ffather (as will appeare by the Aud^{r} of Wales Bookes) wherefore and in regard of yo^{r} Pet^{r} haveing a Tenn^{ts} right of renewing the said Lease of y^{e} premises and the same being of a very smale value yo^{r} Lords^{p} will be pleased to grant yo^{r} Pet^{r} a New Lease of the same for such Terme of yeares and under such ffine and Rents as to yo^{r} Lo^{p} shall be thought fitting

And yo^{r} Pet^{r} shall ever pray &c."[1]

The Auditor (G (?) Godolphin) replies to Samuel Travers on the 8th of January, 1706 (7), but it is not until the 28th June, 1707, that Samuel Travers reports to the Lord High Treasurer.

[Marginal Heading] "Thomas Lloyd Warr^{t} for a particular of 2 ferrvs called Bolydon and Tally Foyle.

Upon Rec^{t} of yo^{r} Lord^{ps} Reference On ye Annexed Peticon in the name of Thomas LLovd Infant alledging that the said Lloyd's ffather and his Ancestors have for many years past held by Lease from the Crown 2 Ferries upon the River Menay y^{e} 1 called Llanydon als Bolydon And y^{e} other Aqua Sancta als Tally Foyle under y^{e} yearly Rents of 2 li 2s. and 1 li 1s. which Lease is said to be expired tho' the Rents continue to be paid to y^{e} Rec^{r} of North Wales. I sent a Copy of the said Peticon to y^{e} Aud^{r} of Wales desiring him to Certife what Terme the Pet^{rs} Ancestors had last granted them in y^{e} prmisses and when the same expired. And if the Rents were duly Answered as alleadged to the Crown And what the value of the prmisses is if the same appeared to him (I having no Survey thereof in my Office) together with what he thought else fitt to be considered if a New Lease should be made of the said Ferries. And have rec^{d} from him the Certifycate Annexed by w^{ch} it appears that Bolydon Ferry was the 10th of ffebry 12^{o} Car 1mo granted (int^{r}al) in ffee ffarme unto Braddock and Kingscote paying the Rent of 2^{l} 1^{s} p. ann. And that Aqua Sancta was 8th July An^{o} 8vo Eliz^{h} granted unto Tho^{s} Lambert Gent for 21 years from Easter 1576 under the abovesaid Rent of 21^{sh}. But without finding any Extinguishm^{t} of the Grant in ffee of the said first Ferry or a subsequent Lease of y^{e} other Entered before him. He is of Opinion by p̃using the View Books that both the said Ferrys by some Grant or Assignm^{t} did come to the possession of Hugh Williams Tho^{s} Williams and Lewis Williams for their Lives And finds that abt 1673 upon the death of Lewis the Survivor the Rents were Answered by John Grosvenor Esq^{r} (who intermarryed wth the Pet^{rs} Grandmother) afterwards by the Pet^{rs} ffather And since by himselfe, but by what Title they held the Premisses doth not appear to him otherwise than by the Constant paym^{t} of the Rents for above 30 yeares last past. Neither doth he certifye to the yearly value of the prmmisses but the Rents reserved and the repaires and Losses of Boats being considered he believes the same cannot be very considerable.

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[1] L.R. 2/327, "Letter Book, Wales," fo. 42d.

Tho^{s} Jones Esq^{r} Guardian to this pet^{r} Alledges that by the Loss or Mislaying sev^{ll} Antient Deeds & Writings belonging to this Infants Estate he is not able to clear up the Title but humbly submitts the same, And prays, a New Lease from her Ma^{ty} may be made to y^{e} Pet^{r} under the same Rents and for such ffine as yo^{r} Lord^{p} shall think fit.

Soon after this Peticon was ref^{d} to me there was a Caveat Entred in my Office by Owen Hughes Esq^{r} ag^{t} passing the Lease desired by the Pet^{r}. And a Peticon of Mr. Hugh's with yo^{r} Lord^{ps} Reference thereon followed Setting forth That a Ferry called Southcrooke als Abermenay On y^{e} said River Menay And the aforesaid 2 Ferries of Tally ffoyle & Bolydon were all included in One Lease made by Queen Eliz^{a} upon ye Expiracon whereof he obtained a Lease of Southcrooke fferry for a Terme of yeares yet unexpired under a Rent of 4 l. 10s. p. ann. And that the fferrys desired by the Pet^{r} were enjoyed by Mrs Wood and her Grandson Peirce Lloyd (this Pet^{rs} Ancestor) from y^{e} Expiracon of the said Lease by Queen Eliz^{a} which was about 1673 as aforesaid without any Lease from y^{e} Crowne or Right to y^{e} same, And that tho' they were Antiently but foot fferries yet by building large Boats and Using them for Horses and all other Carriages they have Encroached and taken away the Profitts of Southcrooke fferry so that considering the Charge he is at he is a great Loser And can hardly pay the Rent to the Crown and therefore prays to renew his own Lease and that the said other 2 fferries may be included therein under y^{e} usuall Rents

I find Mr Hugh's did some time since p^{r}ferr a Bill in y^{e} Excheq^{r} ag^{t} this Pet^{rs} ffather and his Tenants to discover by what Title They Claimed y^{e} said 2 fferries (tho' I conceive he had no Power to demand an Answer in that point) And to remove the aforesaid Encroachm^{t} Occasioned by making them Horse fferries And be further relieved It seems this Pet^{rs} father dyed without appearing or Answering thereto but the Tenants have put in their Answer And one of them, viz Marg^{t} Morris Wid^{o} aged 82—whose husband I am informed was Tenant of Tally Foyle (w^{ch} is y^{e} Nearest and most likely of the 2 to hurt Mr Hughe's fferry) near 30 yeares agoe hath therein sworne as appeares to me by the Draft of the Answer That the said fferry of Tally Foyle or Aqua Sancta ever since she knew it first w^{ch} was before her husbands comeing to it hath been used for all manner of Carriages w^{t}soever And they both say that they have many yeares since heard and doe verily believe that it hath been so time out of mind. The said Marg^{t} further deposeth that twas reported that one Mr. Prythreth a Judge of that Circuit under whom Mr Lloyd claimes had the Inheritance of Tally ffoyle fferry. And tis alledged that Mr Hughe's hath not served Mr Lloyd with process to appear to the said Bill so that the cause is delayed by himselfe—Mr Jones this Pet^{rs} said Guardian further saith that to prevent Mr Hughe's said Law Suit and to manifest that Mr Hughe's fferry is not prjudiced by the other 2 it hath been offered to Mr. Hughe's to give him as much Rent for his fferry during his Interest as ever he made thereof And that he now will be obliged if Mr Hughes takes a New Lease to continue such Improved Rent for y^{e} whole Terme he shall Obtaine, w^{ch} Offer being so very fair And the Pet^{r} having some Probability of a Claime in ffee and being yet ready to Accept a Lease from her Ma^{ty} and being also the first Pet^{r} for the same. I think it but reasonable he should be Admitted to take a Lease of the said 2 fferries in his pos̃sion for a Terme of 31 yeares continuing y^{e} Old Rents And it appearing to me by 2 Sev^{ll} Affidavitts that Tally Foyle hath lett for but 11^{l} and Bolydon 6^{l} together 17^{l} a year; Out of w^{ch} the Rents of 41^{sh} and 21^{sh} And the charge of New Boates and repairing Old Ones, Ropes etc. being to be deducted I think a ffine of 50^{l} may be a suff^{t} ffine for such a New Lease which will be chargeable to pass.

If Mr Hughe's thinks fitt to renew his Lease of the other Ferry in his Poss̃ion and in w^{ch} he hath ab^{t} 3 yeares to come I have no Objeccon ag^{t} the same. Tho' since his Peticon came to my hands I have had a Caveat Entred ag^{t} it in behalfe of One Richard Broadhead Gent And a Case del̃d therupon alleadging that Mr Hughe's was ab^{t} 1678 Employed by One Owen Williams Clerk to whom Broadhead claimes to be Heir to take a Lease of some small Parcells of Land for him and produces some Lres of Mr. Hughes own Writeing w^{ch} seem to Imply as much but that Mr Hughe's got the same for himselfe in his Lease abovesaid of the fferry and would not assigne to him the whole Terme to give him as he Ought the Prference of renewing. I find y^{e} said Land is included in Mr Hughe's Lease of y^{e} fferry but he alledges never to have been Employed by Williams but that he was before in Poss̃ion (as the Lease mencons) and took it in his own Right but these Lands not being in Mr Hughe's p^{r}sent peticon for a Renewall the matter of this Caveat comes not now in Dispute but is proper to be heard when a New Lease is Sued for the aforesaid Lands—

All w^{ch} is humbly submitted to yo^{r} Lord^{ps} great Wisdome

Travers Supervisor Gen.

28th June, 1707."

On 27th August, 1707, the Lord High Treasurer, Sidney, Earl Godolphin, notifies his approval of Mr. Surveyor General's Report and desires him to make forth a "Constat" or to send to the Auditor for a "particular," in order to the passing of a lease. For so doing this communication is his warrant.[1]

On 26th January, 1707 (8), the Auditor submits his "particular," in which he inserts the usual recitals of previous grants and makes suggestions as to provisoes which should be inserted in the proposed lease. This is forwarded to the Treasury, by Travers, with his own comments, on 7th February, and has the marginal heading "Thomas Lloyd W^{t} for a Lease of 2 fferrys."

The Auditor recites the grant in perpetuity to Braddocke and Kingscote, opposite which Travers writes: "This recitall of ye Grant in ffee is to be omitted and both the fferrys are to be passed as in y^e^ hands of the Crown and in the possession or occupacon of Thos Lloyd Infant."

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[1] Warrants not relating to money, T. 54, Vol. 20, pp. 71–3.

There is a note that the grant to Thomas Lambert expired at Easter, 1597, "from w^{ch} time y^{e} Mesne profits of y^{e} s^{d} premisses ought to be answered to the Crowne." But Samuel Travers recommends that the lessee should be required to clear arrears of rent, "but is to be discharged of all Demands that might be made for Mesne Profits to the prmisses during his or his Ancestor's possession." He suggests a fine of £50, a lease of the ferries for 31 years, from the date of the grant, and the ancient annual rents of 41s. and 21s.[1]

The Lord High Treasurer, on 28th February, approves Trafford's recommendations and sends his warrant for a lease to the Clerk of the Pipe; and on 19th May, 1708, the Letters Patent are executed. The lease is made out to Thomas Jones, guardian of Thomas Lloyd, infant son of Pierce Lloyd, "late of Ligwy." The terms are those recommended by Samuel Travers. Thomas Jones, on his part, undertakes that all boats and other things necessary for the ferries and all houses, buildings and structures upon the premises, "if any such are there," will be kept in good repair and so relinquished at the end of the term; also, that he will defend and assert at his own charges the right and title of the Queen, her heirs and successors, in the premisses. The grant is to be void if the rents are forty days in arrear, or if the Letters Patent are not enrolled within six months.[2]

The holding of the three western ferries, by Hugh Williams and his sons and their assigns, has thus been finally liquidated, and we are left with nothing but speculations as to the title by which they had held them.

Owen Hughes's account, in 1707, is that the three ferries had had been included in one lease by Queen Elizabeth, and that this lease had ended about 1673. This version may well have originated in some report of Queen Elizabeth's grant to Wingate and Lloyd, under which Hugh Williams first held the ferries. If he had possessed any such grant as Owen Hughes suggests, at the time of Robert Lloyd's Survey, he would, presumably, have declared it, as he did the reversionary grant of Porthaethwy. This version also leaves no place for a later lease of any of the ferries to Lewis Owen, and we have evidence that Lewis Owen did secure some such lease.

The auditor, in 1707, comes to the same conclusion regarding Tal-y-foel and Moel-y-don, as his predecessor had come to in the case of Southcrook, in 1679, namely, that the grant under which they had been held was a lease for lives which had terminated with the death of Lewis Williams. No one has anything to say as to the fate of the fee-farm grant of Moel-y-don and we can only accept Samuel Travers's conclusion that Thomas Lloyd had "some Probability of a Claime in ffee"; in other words, that a conveyance of the fee-farm grant might have been among the "Ancient Deeds and Writings" which had been lost.

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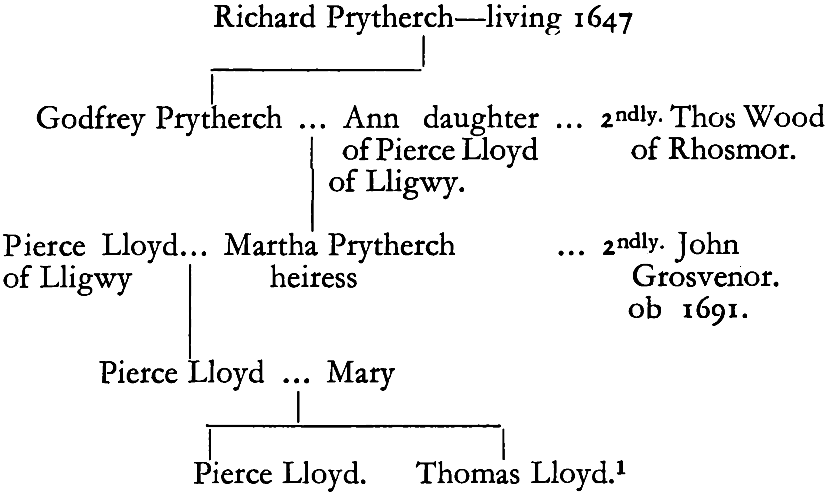
[1] T. 54, Vol. 20, pp. 131–2.

[2] L.R.I., Vol. 223 (N. Wales, Vol. 12), fo. 40.

We may well pause to note Margaret Morris's statement that it was "reported that one Mr. Prythreth a Judge of that Circuit under whom Mr Lloyd claimes had the Inheritance of Tally ffoyle fferry." In connection with this statement, Owen Hughes's reference to Mrs. Wood, and the mention of John Grosvenor by Samuel Travers and in the "View" of 1686–9, are of interest as the following extract from the Myfyrian pedigree indicates.


Richard Prytherch—living 1647
Godfrey Prytherch ... Ann daughter of Pierce Lloyd of Lligwy. ... 2ndly. Thos Wood of Rhosmor.
Pierce Lloyd... of Lligwy
Martha Prytherch heiress
... 2ndly. John Grosvenor. ob 1691.
Pierce Lloyd ... Mary
Pierce Lloyd.
Thomas Lloyd.[1]

We learn elsewhere that Richard Prytherch was appointed Puisne Justice of Chester in 1636, and died in 1647,[2] and Rowlands tells us how he purchased Llanidan and established his abode there.[1] If Hugh Williams, or his sons, parted with their interest in Moel-y-don and Tal-y-foel to Justice Prytherch, then we shall find that the owners of Lligwy and Llanidan hold these two ferries for two hundred years from the time of his death.

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[1] Griffith, *Pedigrees*. Myfyrian, p. 115, Lligwy, p. 135. In the Lligwy Pedigree we find appended to the name of Thos. Lloyd's father the note "Will proved 1680." This is clearly an error. The evidence that Thos. Lloyd was an infant during the years 1706–8 is beyond question, and the same Pedigree enters Thos. Lloyd's brother as follows: "Pierce Lloyd xd May 28th, 1698, mort." Henry Rowlands refers to Pierce Lloyd, the great grandson of Justice Prytherch, as residing at Llanidan at the time when he was writing the *Antiquitates*, completed in 1710; and we may further note that Piece Lloyd figures as High Sheriff of Anglesey, in 1698–9, in Breese, *Kal.*

[2] Williams, *Great Sessions*, p. 57.

We have seen that Owen Hughes's petition for a renewal of his lease of Abermenai, and that Tal-y-foel and Moel-y-don should also be leased to him, miscarried so far as the last two ferries were concerned. The outcome of his application as regards Abermenai is told below.

On 20th February, 1711, the Treasury refers to John Manley, Esq., now Surveyor General, a petition from Richard, Lord Bulkeley, praying for a thirty-one years' lease of the small parcel of land in Clegyrog, in trust for Gwen Broadhead, widow; and for a similar lease of the Southcrook ferry for himself, his executors and assigns.[2]

On 23rd April, 1711, John Manley makes his Report. He reviews the circumstances of the grant to Owen Hughes, in 1679, and of Owen Hughes's petition for a new lease to include Tal-y-foel and Moel-y-don, and refers to Richard Broadhead's accusation against Owen Hughes in connection with the land in Clegyrog. His Report then continues as follows:—

> "After the late Surveyor Reporting the Two Ferries to be leased to the Infant Lloyd aforesaid he made Report on the Peticon of Mr. Hughes that the other Ferry called Southcrooke w^{ch} he held then in his Right for three yeares to come might reasonably be leased to him for a Term to make up 31 yeares for a Fine of 20^{li} continuing the old rent of 4^{li} 10s. a year but he thinking that too dear as I am

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[1] *Arch, Camb.*, Vol. III (1848), pp. 56 and 297.

[2] Treas. Ref. Books 8, p. 417. In connection with this petition we may note that a copy of Samuel Travers' Report, upon Thos. Lloyd's petition, of 1706, was found among a collection of MSS. at Baron Hill, and published in *Arch. Camb.* in 1851. It would appear that Lord Bulkeley's support had been solicited on behalf of Richard Broadhead and possibly of Thos. Lloyd also.

We may perhaps note, at the same time, that in the 3rd edition revised of D. W. Pughe's *History of Caernarvon Castle and Town*, which would appear to have been published about 1852, we find it stated that the three western ferries "were leased (temp. Eliz.) to one Wood." One is inclined to attribute this statement to a superficial reading of the printed copy of Travers' Report. The *History* also gives "Agna Sancta" and "Abermoney" as old names of the two westernmost ferries. Similar misspellings occur in the printed copy of this Report.

informed did not proceed thereon. I have a peticon of Lloyd Bodville Esq. whose wife is an Extrix of the said Owen Hughes referred to me by your Lordships 2nd Feb. past (some days before this Pet^{r} had his referred to me) praying a Lease of the said Ferry alledging the Ferryhouse so ruinous it must be rebuilt and that he would keep up the premises and continue the old Rent upon w^{ch} I have made my Report this day to your Lordships. I find this hon^{ble} pet^{r} hath the Consent and request of Gwen Jones wid^{o} of the said Mr. Broadhead for his Lord^{p} to take a Lease of the said Lands in trust for her son W^{m} Broadh^{d} ag^{t} w^{ch} I dont see any objeccons no claim being laid to it by the Extrix of Owen Hughes aforesaid. In order to be giving your Lord^{ps} the best acco^{t} I could of the present State and Value of the whole premises I sent to the Aud^{r} of Wales who hath certifyed to me that the profitts are very inconsiderable being as he is informed let at 9^{l} per ann. whereof 4^{l} 10^{s} is paid to her Ma^{ty} this I presume he means only of the Ferry and doth not mencon the Lands as of any Value and I having no Survey of the Premises before me I have herein to annexed his Certificate to w^{ch} I beg leave to referr your Lord^{ps} he says the Right of Renewal of the Lands is in this Peticoner by an assignment (w^{ch} he is informed) Gwen Broadhead hath made to him. That by the Accounts from the gentlemen that live near the said Ferry he understands the same lyes at the Mouth of the Meney opening to the Irish Seas and that the passage is dangerous and people often loose their lives so that there was usually two Boats kept there w^{ch} he is informed of late hath not been so good as formerly. And that the Ferryhouse is very ruinous and uninhabitable. And that the charge of building a Convenient house will cost at least 40^{l} and to build a boat so good as it ought to be 50^{l} more.

Thus having stated the whole matter to your Lord^{p} as it appears to me and the Lease of the Land as well as Ferry being expired at Michas last And the Consideracon on w^{ch} the same was granted being only the Preservacon of the Old Rents w^{ch} were in danger of being lost I am of opinion the Erecting a New Substantial Ferryhouse and providing sufficient Boats and other Tackle and continuing the same Rents may be a Sufficient Inducem^{t} to the granting of a New Lease for One and Thirty yeares Whether to this Pet^{r} for the whole or to the other Pet^{r} Mr. Bodville for the Ferry and to this for the Lands it being wholly in her Ma^{ty} to do as of her Grace and Favour she thinks fit. I humbly

> submit that and the whole matter to your Lord^{ps} Great Wisdom.
>
> 23rd Aprill, 1711. J. Manley Supervisor Genēr."[1]

On 13th July, 1711, "Mr. Surveyour Gen^{ll}" receives an acknowledgment of his Report and is directed in "psuance of her Ma^{ts} Pleasure to me declared" to make out a Constat or send to the Auditor for a Particular in order to the passing of a lease "to my very good Lord Rich^{d} Bulkeley Lord Viscp^{t} Cashell."[1]

(signed) Oxford.

The Letters Patent are dated 20th December, 10 Anne (1711). The parcel of land in Clegyrog is leased to Lord Bulkeley, his executors, etc., in trust for William Broadhead; and the passage of Southcrooke for his own proper use. In both cases the lease is for thirty-one years from Michaelmas, 1710, at the previous rents of 14s. 5½d. and £4 10s. 0d. Lord Bulkeley undertakes that he will, within five years, well and solidly rebuild the dwelling house, called the ferry-house, opposite the said ferry; and that he will provide suitable boats, with ropes and other equipment, and keep both house and boats in good repair. The lease passes without fine.[2]

The Lloyd Bodvel, referred to in Manley's Report, had married a niece of Owen Hughes, and his son, Peter, had inherited property under Owen Hughes's will.[3] Owen Hughes's interest in the ferry would seem to have passed to Peter Bodvel, as his name figures, as the holder of Southcrook, in an account covering the years 1708–12. He had not, however, paid the rent after Michaelmas, 1710.[4]

Owen Hughes was High Sheriff of Anglesey, in 1683, and was elected M.P. for Beaumaris, in 1698.[5] We find Paul Panton referring to him as "the rich attorney of Beaumaris";[6] and J. E. Griffith tells us that he was known as "Owen Hughes Yr Arian Mawr."[3]

Having thus seen the western ferries once more in the hands of parties whose title to hold them is on record, we must retrace our steps, to take note of certain matters which have been passed over, without mention.

The Commonwealth comes and goes, and we find no indication that Thomas Williams, or his ferries, are much affected.

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[1] Warrants not relating to money, T. 54, Vol. 21, pp. 253–4.

[2] L.R.I., Vol. 223 (N. Wales, Bdl. 12), p. 48.

[3] Griffith, *Pedigrees,* pp. 176–7.

[4] L.R. 7/139/12 (3).

[5] Breese, *Kal.*

[6] C.W.P. 2818.

The rents of all four ferries are unpaid during the year ending Michaelmas, 1646. But all the arrears have been eliminated by the following Michaelmas, with the exception of one-half year's rent for "Saint." This 10s. 6d. continues in arrear, and is still owing in 1651.[1] It will be remembered that General Mytton was besieging Caernarvon Castle, over a long period, during the first half of 1646; and we may well surmise that the Tal-y-foel ferry had been prevented from operating during this time, and that Thomas Williams accordingly withheld the rent. All the rents are paid during 1648 and 1649, so the rising in Anglesey did not, apparently, trouble him. He still figures as "of Lincoln's Inn," in a deed of 1650;[2] so he was, possibly, in London throughout the turmoil, and in a position to adjust matters.

We have already referred, under Beaumaris, to Lord Clarendon's account of his journey from Conway to Beaumaris, on 31st December, 1685; where he tells how Lord Bulkeley's coach "carried us to Bangor, where we ferried over into Anglesey, and there put my wife into the litter again; for never was, or can come a coach into that part of the country." Later in this letter, written from Beaumaris, he adds: "The way I came from Bangor is at least eight miles about; the ferry at Bangor is about as broad as the Thames at Battersea, but the boats are little round sea boats, and will not hold above three horses at a time, so that we were very long crossing over the river."[3]

The statement, as to the distance travelled between Bangor and Beaumaris, places it beyond question that he crossed at Porthaethwy; but he does not, unfortunately, indicate how near to the ferry, on the Caernarvonshire side, the coach carried them. The road to Caernarvon was an important one, and Sir William Williams of Vaynol—to whom Captain Collins dedicates his chart of the Straits—would probably not be behind Lord Bulkeley in the matter of a coach; so they may well have come as far as Penchwintan. On the Anglesey side however, we have "never was, or can come a coach into that part of the country." The possibilities of Creigiau-y-Borth did not impress Lord Clarendon.

Eighteen months after Lord Clarendon's crossing we find that Coningsby Williams, His Majesty's tenant of the Porthaethwy ferry, has petitioned for "leave to build a house for the habitacon of the Ferrymen neare the Banks of the said Ferry" ; and that, on 10th June, 1687, his petition has been referred to Mr. Fisher, Deputy Surveyor General, for report.[1] Neither the Petition, nor Mr. Fisher's report, has been met with, but the License tells its own story at some length :—

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[1] L.R. 7/110, Receivers Accts, N. Wales, 1631–1651.

[2] Copy in the possession of the late Mr. J. E. Griffith.

[3] *Hyde Correspondence*, Vol. I, p. 202.

> "Anglesey Licencia pro Ereccone Dom̃ apd Porthaythwy
>
> After our hearty Commendacons Whereas Coningsby Williams Esq^{r} Tennant to his Ma^{ty} of the fferry vpon the river Meney between the Counties of Carnarvon and Anglesey hath represented to us that the said fferry is the principall passage between the said two Counties and therefore much ffrequented by Passengers and Inhabitants thereabouts but in regard there are noe houses for the habitacon of the fferrymen the Passage is much incomoded and many times by theire absence Passengers are retarded Praying therefore License to build a house for the habitacon of the said fferrymen vpon the wast called Porthaythway Comon neare the Banks of the said river by and with the Consent of you and other the ffreeholders and Inhabitants who have or pretend to have right of ffeeding vpon the said Comon Wee thought fitt for our better Informacon in the premisses to referre the examinacon thereof to John ffisher Esq^{r} Deputy to the Surveyor gen^{ll} of his Ma^{ts} lands who Certifie that the Soyle of the said Comon is acknowledged to be in the Crowne but the feeding and grassing therevpon belongs to you the ffreeholders Inhits of the parish of Llandeisilio and others Comoners there in the County of Anglesey wherein that Comon lies and that it is very convenient a house or dwelling for the fferrymen that attend the boate vpon the said river should be erected with his Ma^{ts} leave and by the consent of the ffreeholders and the Inhits there And whereas we have represented this Matter to his Ma^{ty} who was therevpon gratiously pleased to Declare his pleasure that such a house should be erected these are therefore to signifie and wee doe hereby signifie and Declare it is his Ma^{ts} pleasure that he the said Coningsby Williams his Agents and Assignes have full power free liberty license and authority by and with the consent of the ffreeholders and Inhabitants aforesaid who have right of ffeeding vpon the said Comon to erect and build or cause to be erected and built vpon any place or in any part of the said Comon or wast Comonly called Porthaythwy Comon such a convenient house or dwelling as

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[1] Treasury Reference Books 5, p. 99. (Now known as Index 4619.)

neare the said ffferry as may be for the habitacon and accomodacon of the men who ply and attend the said fferry reserving a rent of twelve pence per ann to the Crown. payable yearely to his Ma^ts^ Receiver of Northwales And to the end that the said rent may be duely charged for his Ma^ts^ future Service you are hereby desired to cause an Entrv of this his Ma^ts^ Royall Lycense and authority hereby signified to be made with his Ma^ts^ Aud^r^ of the p^r^misses vpon the erecting of such house as aforesaid for which this shall be your Warrant.

Windsor Castle Aug^t^ the 15^th^, 1687.

Godolphin
J. Ernle
H. ffox

To Nichãs Bagnall Esq^r^ Coningsby Wms. Esq^r^ Henry Wynne Thomas Roberts and Cadwalder Lloyd gents and to all others the ffreeholders herein concerned.

(Below is written):

Wee the Inhabitants and ffreeholders of the parish of Llandeisilio in the Countie of Anglesey who have right of ffeeding on the wast Ground or Comon comonly called Porthaythwy Comon In obedience and pursuant to this Lre or Warrant to us and others the ffreeholders and Inhabitants of the said parish of Llandeisillio directed Doe hereby as much in us lies give way full power free liberty license and authority for the said Coningsby Williams his Agents or Assignes to erect and build or cause to be erected and built vpon any place or in any part of the said Comon or wast ground comonly called Porthaythwy Comon such a convenient house or Dwelling as neare the fferry as may be for the habitacon and accomodacon of the men who ply and attend the said fferry. Witness our hands and Seale the six and twentieth day of March 1688.

Henry Wynne
Thomas Roberts
The mark of Cadwaldr Lloyd
Rowland Hughes
Harry Thomas."[1]

The Porthaethwy Ferry House, with its rent of one shilling, figures in the Accounts henceforward. Whether it ever served as the habitation of those who plied and tended the ferry may perhaps be questioned. It is as an inn, sometimes, and most probably always, in the occupation of the tenant of the ferry, that we meet with references to it. Porthaethwy comes into prominence, at this time, in connection with its Fairs and there was doubtless a good opening for an inn there.

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[1] L.R.I., Vo. 222 (N. Wales, Vol. 11), fos. 260–261.

The Porthaethwy Fairs

The old Anglesey fairs, at Beaumaris, Newborough, Aberffraw, and Llanerchymedd, appear in English Almanacs, at the close of the sixteenth century.[1] The same four fairs are named in the 1612, 1618, 1633, and 1683 editions of the *Llyfr Plygain.* In 1683 the *Llyfr Plygain* was being published by Thomas Jones, who was also publishing an Almanac; but the earliest of his Almanacs did not include the List of Fairs, that of 1685 referring us to the *Llyfr Plygain* for this List. At some time between 1685 and 1691 the List of Fairs was transferred to the Almanac, and in the Almanac for this latter year, 1691, we find the four above-mentioned fairs and one other, namely, at Porthaethwy. It would thus appear that the Porthaethwy fairs had come into existence between 1683 and 1691, or, at all events, that they had only become sufficiently well known at this time, to call for mention in the Almanac.[2]

In this same (1691) Almanac we find a new fair added to the Caernarvonshire list also. This is at Borth, which we shall later locate as the Caernarvonshire landing of the Porthaethwy ferry.

The dates of the Porthaethwy fairs are given as 15th August, 15th September, 13th October, and 3rd November. In 1691 only two of these dates are given at Borth, viz. 15th August and 13th October; but in the 1692 Almanac (which we may note attaches the name Porthaethwy to these new fairs on both sides of the Straits) the same four dates are given for both.[3]

Passing on to 1721, we find Browne Willis giving particulars of the Bishop's fairs in the city of Bangor, and adding: "There are also, by the Bishop's Charter, four Fairs held at Borth, in this Parish, about a Mile distant from the Town, viz. on 15th August, 15th September, 13th October, and 3rd November."[4] We have clearly to do with the same fairs, held on both sides of the ferry, and we are told that those at Borth were held by the Bishop's authority. Borth was in the Bishop's Manor of Bangor, but what authority had the Bishop at Porthaethwy?

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[1] Westhowe, 1594, and Gabriel Freude, 1597.

[2] The Editions of the *Llyfr Plygain*, and the Thomas Jones Almanacs referred to, are at the N.L.W.

[3] We may note that following the passing of the "Calendar (New Style) Act," of 1750, under which eleven days were dropped, the date of the Porthaethwy and Borth fairs became 26th August, 26th September, 24th October, and 14th November.

[4] Willis, *Bangor*, p. 49.

The Extents of 1348 and 1352 show that the tenants of Porthaethwy, free or otherwise, were tenants of the Prince, and owed no suit to the Bishop; and there is ample later confirmation of this. . Porthaethwy lay outside of the Bishop's Manor of Treffos. We have also just seen that when Coningsby Williams, in 1687, desired to build a ferry-house on the Porthaethwy common, he applied to the Crown for leave, and that the Deputy Surveyor General reported that the soil of the common was acknowledged to be in the Crown. The Crown grants the license, with the consent of the freeholders, and fixes and subsequently receives the ground rent. There is no mention of the Bishop. When, however, we come to the Enclosure Act, of 1814, we find that the soil of the common is now in the Bishop, as Lord of the Manor of Treffos, and that, as compensation for his rights in the soil, he receives an allotment "equal in value to one-eighteenth Part of all the commonable Lands and waste grounds within the said Manor." We further find that nothing in the Act is to prejudice his right to the minerals. Porthaethwy is now in the Manor of Treffos. How has this change come about?

In the absence of any definite information we may surmise that the Bishop established his fairs at Borth, but that the Anglesey farmers preferred to sell their cattle on their own side of the water, and that the fairs thus spread to Porthaethwy. We may further surmise that the Bishop's steward regulating the fairs at Borth extended his control to Porthaethwy also; and, finally, that fairs having been held at Porthaethwy under the Bishop's authority for over a century, he was, in 1814, accepted as Lord of the Manor there. It would appear that as Lord of the Manor he established the fairs at Borth, and that the fairs established him as Lord of the Manor at Porthaethwy sufficiently, at all events, for the promoters of the Enclosure Act to include him in their number as such.

There may, perhaps, be some connection between the Bishop's recently acquired interest in Porthaethwy and the fact that, in 1715, he petitioned the Crown for a grant of the Porthaethwy ferry. His petition is referred for report in the usual way, and Thomas Williams, nephew and heir of Coningsby, now deceased, enters a caveat. Thomas Williams is under the necessity of instituting a search in the Rolls Chapel, and of producing a certificate of the grant to William White and others, from "the proper officer there," in order to establish his title.[1]

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[1] L.R. 2/327, fos. 108^{d}, 110, and 110^{d}.

We have earlier noted the reference to "the passage of beasts at Porthaitho," during the years 1407–9. The cattle have doubtless continued to cross here, during the intervening years, though no mention of this has been found. We find it stated, in 1638, that 3,000 head of cattle were exported from Anglesey yearly;[1] and the establishment of the four fairs, at Borth and Porthaethwy, may well indicate the increasing importance of this export. It is in any case certain that the fair days must have brought much business to the ferry.

The road from Porthaethwy to Holyhead begins to come into the picture during our present period. It may be recalled how Henry VII's policy of securing the full value of all issues for his revenue afforded us the opportunity of comparing the ferries in this respect. Porthaethwy was found to be by far the most important. Robert Lloyd's Survey, of 1608, tells the same story; and when Ogilby, in 1675, maps his road from Beaumaris to Holyhead, we find that it takes a short cut into the direct route from Porthaethwy to Holyhead.

All the Beaumaris schoolmaster has to say about the route across the sands, in 1669, is that it was "formerly the direct road to Ireland." Well-to-do travellers, and such as Lord Clarendon, who travelled in coaches, might still cross to Beaumaris at the close of the seventeenth century; but the ordinary traveller was crossing at Porthaethwy, and had long, and perhaps always, done so. In 1721, in any case, Porthaethwy, like Bangor, is on the "great Road from London to Holyhead." The ordinary traveller, however, appears, for some time to come, to have travelled on horseback; and we cannot, unfortunately, say when Lord Clarendon's "into those parts cometh no coach or ever may," was first disproved.

The part played by their Deputy Postmaster necessitated our dealing with the "Posts," under Beaumaris; but we found good grounds for concluding that they must, from the outset, have crossed at Porthaethwy more often than not. We also ventured to surmise that the "poste" at Llangefni, during the years following 1620, must have been placed there for the purpose of providing for the transport of letters directly between Porthaethwy and Holyhead. In 1718 the Deputy Postmaster at Bangor displaces his colleague at Beaumaris on the post route to Holyhead, and henceforward, at all events, it is only at Porthaethwy that the post crosses.

We may here note that another route to Holyhead, doubtless of early date, first comes into evidence at the close of this period.

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[1] Roberts, *Map of Commerce,* ch. 262.

John Ogilby, besides the road from Chester, by Denbigh and Conway, maps a second road into North Wales, by Welshpool, Dolgelley, Harlech, and Dolbenmaen to Caernarvon, but carries it no further. In 1720, however, there was published a small-scale edition of Ogilby's *Roads*, which also included little maps of each county. In the map of Anglesey we find, in addition to Ogilby's road from Beaumaris to Holyhead, another road from Abermenai. This, after passing Newborough, crosses the Cefni river under Llangaffo, where, in maps of a later date, we find a ferry shown, and then proceeds by Aberffraw and Llanfaelog; but is continued no further than "Llanuiaierinaybull," for a reason which will appear later.[1] We may note also that Captain Greenvile Collins shows "Abermeney Ferry," in his chart, of 1693, and depicts a house upon each side of the narrow entrance to the Straits.

During the years 1631–3 we meet with a few indications of the ferries patronised by an Anglesey farmer from remote Llanfachraeth. Mr. Bulkeley, of Dronwy, notes in his diary that on Monday, 10th January, 1631, he rode to Caernarvon and "lay there," but he does not specify his route. The next day's entry, however, tells us that he "set homewards by bol y don."

On Saturday, 13th July, 1633, he again went to Caernarvon, with a companion, evidently by Abermenai this time, and meaning to return the same day. But, he writes, "we dranke so well that we lost the boat, and had but a lodging with the snaile, our horses were almost starved at Abermenay." The next morning: "we came ou[er] and broke our fast at Mr. Owen, who and his wife came a long towards llanfachraith." We shall later learn that there was a stable, near the ferry house at Abermenay, and we may assume that they had ridden to Abermenai, and left their horses there, and gone in the big boat on one of its Saturday trips to the Caernarvon market.

On 16th October, 1633, Bulkeley rode to Conway, returning on the 18th. Both going and returning he "bayted at Bangor," so we may take it that he crossed at Porthaethwy.[2]

We again meet with references to two of our ferries in a letter written from Llanidan by a member of the Lloyd family, on 12th December, 1710, from which the following is a quotation: "Last Saturday had liked to have been a fatall day to severall poor people. Bollodon Ferry Boat sunck wth 15 men and 10 horses in her, 'twas to their good luck y^{ey} were near y^{e} shore on Carnarvonshire side; y^{e} first sea y^{t} she shipt y^{e} men stood in her up to y^{r} knees, y^{e} 2nd sea sunk her. Abermenai ferry boat attempted to go from town home, but had much to do to save y^{e} boat and their lives, so were forced to return like drowned Rats."[1]

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[1] Owen, *Britannia Depicta*.

[2] "Diary of Bulkeley of Dronwy," ed. Hugh Owen (*Trans. Angl. Antiq. Soc.*, 1937) [pp. 36–37, 99, 105].

Here again it is Caernarvon market day, and we find a big boat crossing at Moel-y-don, with many men and horses in her; and the Abermenai boat on one of her Saturday visits to Caernarvon.

We found the Surveyor General reporting, in 1711, that there were two boats at Abermenai, and that a new one was needed, which would cost, "as good as it ought to be" £50. This is twice as much as is paid for the largest boat built at Beaumaris, at this time; and we have here to do with the big boat which we later find bringing the Newborough people down to the Caernarvon Market, on Saturday mornings, and taking them back to Abermenai, in the evening. The second boat would be that in daily use, for transporting people across to the road leading south by Dinas Dinlle, or to that leading along the shore to Caernarvon, or inland by Llanfaglan. The big Abermenai boat did not carry horses on her Saturday trips to Caernarvon. We shall also be told, a little later, that the Tal-y-foel boats did not carry horses, on market days; and it would thus appear that any Anglesey produce which was brought to the Caernarvon market, on horseback, came by Moel-y-don.

A disaster is said to have befallen the big Abermenai boat in 1664. The story, as given by Bingley, is as follows: The boat had arrived at Abermenai and "the passengers were about to land, when a misunderstanding occurred concerning a penny more than the people were willing to pay. During the dispute the boat was carried into a deep place, where it upset, and although it was at that time within a few yards of the shore, seventy-nine of the passengers perished, one only escaping. The country people believed that this was a visitation of heaven, because the boat was built of timber that had been stolen from Llanddwyn Abbey."[2]

Some thirty-five years later we hear of trouble at Porthaethwy. We are told in the Introduction to the Letters of the Morris brothers, that their parents were married in June, 1699, and how, a few months later, the wife, Margaret, had gone to a fair at Bangor. During the afternoon a rumour reached Morris Prichard that the ferry-boat at Porthaethwy had capsized, and that all the occupants had been drowned, with the exception of one woman. He set off in great distress, but met his wife, "who it appears had crossed by another boat."[1]

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[1] Bulkeley MS. Published in *Arch. Camb.*, 1851, p. 236.

[2] Bingley, *North Wales,* Vol. I, p. 280. A brief reference to this disaster, from what appears to have been an independent source, was published in the *N.W.G.* of 8th September, 1808.

Before passing on it may be useful briefly to review such figures as have been noted respecting the annual lettable values of the western ferries during this period.

Robert Lloyd's Survey, of 1608, gives us Abermenai, £7, Moel-y-don, £5, and Porthaethwy, £25. Samuel Travers, in 1708, gives Tal-y-foel, £11, and Moel-y-don, £6; while John Manley, in 1711, gives Abermenai, £9. When allowance is made for the greater expense of operating the wide and exposed ferry at Tal-y-foel, the later figures seem to indicate that in spite of its many disadvantages, of which we shall hear later, this ferry must have handled a substantially larger round the year traffic, than either Abermenai or Moel-y-don. Travellers, we shall find, did not patronize Tal-y-foel, but we may suppose that local people gave preference to the direct crossing to and from Caernarvon, whenever conditions were favourable.

Porthaethwy has passed, in 1629, into private hands, and its letting value does not again interest the authorities, until it has to be bought back by the Crown, in 1820. The fact that Lord Clarendon, in 1685, finds here but little boats, carrying no more than three horses at a time, does not indicate any diminution in the importance of this ferry relatively to the others. The old ferry landing, above which Coningsby Williams erected his ferry-house, lies at a very narrow part of the Straits, where the current at times runs very swiftly, and we may take it that a large boat would not have served here so well as the more frequent service of smaller boats, which the narrow crossing permitted of.

The Beaumaris ferry is let for £8 in 1694, but we cannot compare this figure with the annual values mentioned above. The Beaumaris boat was maintained and equipped by the Corporation. At Abermenai we shall find Lord Bulkeley maintaining the house, but that the "Boats and Tackle" are "at the Charge of the Undertenant." This appears to have been the usual condition upon which the ferries were let.

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[1] *Morris Letters*, p. xii.

7. THE PORTHESGOB FERRY IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

After the departure of Serjeant Hugh Lloyd, the Bishops were, perhaps, allowed to enjoy their ferry in peace for a season. We, in any case, do not meet with it again until they are once more in trouble.

In 1649 a group of Aldermen and other citizens of the City of London had been entrusted by the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled "with the landes and possessions of the late Archbishopps and Bishopps and with the sale thereof for the use of the Comon Wealth."

By an Indenture, dated 23rd March, 1649, between the above group, of the one part, and "John Jones of London Esquire and George Twisleton of llyar in the County of Carnarvon Esq^{r}," of the other part, the lands of the Bishoprics of St. Asaph and Bangor were sold to the two last-named parties.

Under "Maynoll Bangor," we find "all that the benefitt or profitt of the boate and passage commonly called Garth and Porth Escobb fferry with all and singular the appurtenances of the said fferry and passage." No separate value is placed upon the ferry. It is included with the capital messuage, or mansion house of the Manor, together with stables, orchards, gardens, closes, and sundry parcels of land. Among the latter we note "Caer Glover," which we later meet with as "Cae'r Glower" and "Cae'r Glowr," and where we shall find Bishop Ewer building a house which, very shortly afterwards, becomes the George and Dragon Inn. We also find Tythin-y-Garth, which we shall see leased with the Garth Ferry to Mr. Thomas Morgan, a couple of centuries later.

The rents of assize, quit rents, etc., are not detailed, and we look in vain for "Trefelias," or other place-names along the Anglesey shore. But we do find "Melin issa als Melin Cadnant," which is now said to be of the yearly value of £6 13s. 4d. We may also perhaps venture to add: "All that Islett or ffishing with the appurtenances thereunto belonging called or knowne by the name of ynis vady gath (or gach ?)[1] lying in the River

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[1] A mis-copy presumably of "ynis vadog goch." The present owner of the island, of late known as the "Gorad Goch," has in his possession an indenture dated 1st April, 1590, by which Bishop Hugh (Bellot) leases to an earlier Thomas Fletcher "All that his Iland or Weare comonlye called ynys Madocke coghe situate lyeinge and beinge in the Mayne Streame of the ryver Menay Abuttinge South East vpon the landes of the said Thomas ffletcher called Treborth . . . yeldinge and payenge therefore . . . the Some of Three poundes . . . and besides one Barell full of hearinges at the tyme of hearing fisshinge."

Menay being now or late in the tenure or occupacon of Thomas ffletcher or his assignes."[1]

Our only other record during this century is the name "Porth Escop" written along the Caernarvonshire side of the Straits, immediately to the westward of Bangor, in Captain Greenvile Collins' Chart, of 1693. He names "Swilley" and "Bishop's Island"; but apart from the "Ferry," at Beaumaris, and 'Abermenay Ferry," no other ferry is indicated.

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[1] Close Roll 1650, pt. 3, No. 40 (C. 54/3494, No. 40). The manor of Gogarth is not included in this sale. Browne Willis states that the Bishop William Roberts, lived to see the possessions of the Bishopric restored, in 1660.

CHAPTER III

THE FERRIES IN THE LATER MODERN PERIOD

1. THE CONWAY FERRY, 1712-1826

WE left Sir Griffith Williams holding Penlassog and the Conway ferry in 1712. His death is recorded in 1734, and his son, Sir Robert Williams, who succeeded him, died in 1745. Upon the death of the latter, Marle, Penlassog and the ferry passed to his sister Anne, who, in 1739, had married Sir Thomas Prendergast. Sir Thomas died in 1760, and Anne subsequently married his brother, Terence Prendergast. Anne died in December, 1770.[1]

A Miscellaneous Book of the Land Revenue, which served throughout a long period as a record, for North Wales, of the rents payable and of the names of the tenants, shows that all those named above, in turn, held Penlassog and the ferry. Sir Thomas Prendergast's name had been entered at the audit of 1746, Anne's name at the audit of 1760, and Terence's name at that of 1763.[2]

There is a gap of twenty-five years, after 1763, before any further change in the tenancy is shown in this book. We then find the entry "name changed to Thomas Williams Esq. audit 1788." Another tenant, however, appears to have succeeded Terence Prendergast, namely, his brother Jeffery.

Rentals for 1781 and 2, for 1785 and 6, and for 1789 and 1790, give the name of the tenant of Penlassog and the Conway ferry as "Jeffrey Prendergast."[3] Griffith, in his *Pedigrees*, does not give the date of Terence's death, or make any reference to his brother Jeffery; but there appears to be satisfactory evidence that Terence died in 1776, and was succeeded at Marle by his brother Jeffery, and that it was Jeffery who sold Marle and the ferry to Thomas Williams of Llanidan.[4]

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[1] Griffith, *Pedigrees,* p. 186.

[2] L.R. 2, Vol. 318.

[3] L.R. 2, Vol. 322.

[4] The Editor of *Bye-Gones*, 29th December, 1897, prints a statement which had appeared in Notes and Queries (8th S. XI, 285), correcting the entry in Breese, *Kalendars*, according to which Terence Prendergast served as Sheriff of Caernarvon in 1779–80; and saying that it was Jeffery who was the Sheriff in this year. Terence, it is said, upon his marriage with Anne, assumed the surname Williams; and the Church Registers, at Rhos, are cited as recording the burials of Lady Anne Prendergast Williams, on 21st December, 1770, and of Terence Prendergast Williams, on 3rd October, 1776. Terence's Will is also cited as containing the bequest: "The house at Marle with its furniture is for the use of my brother Jeffery."

We may also note that in Nicholas, *Annals*, it is "Jeffery Prendergast, of Marle," who figures as Sheriff of Caernarvonshire for the year 1779.

There is a conflict between the records cited above as to the date of the transfer to Thomas Williams, but one may confidently give preference to the entry "name changed to Thomas Williams Esq^{r} Audit 1788."

Thomas Williams died in 1801, and was succeeded by Owen Williams, of Great Marlow and Craig-y-don, the last tenant of the Conway ferry.

Turning from the proprietors to the ferry itself, we find that travellers who have left accounts of their journeys were few and far between during the first half of the eighteenth century.

Daniel Defoe crossed the Conway ferry in, or about, 1725. He was much impressed by Conway's "noble Harbour," which "infinitely out does Chester or Liverpool itself." "The Stream," he writes, "is Deep and Safe and the River Broad, as the Thames at Deptford."[1] One can only conclude that Defoe crossed the ferry at high water, and asked no questions.

In October, 1748, one George Wood embarked in the Dublin packet at Parkgate, but the packet was caught in a heavy storm off the mouth of the Dee and compelled to return. George Wood, being pressed for time, landed and engaged horses and a guide. The services of a fisherman were also secured, "who conducted us across a dangerous strand and some fords towards Flint." They lay at Holywell, that night, and on the following day "breakfasted at Rhuddlan dined at Conway and lay at Bangor ferry," and reached Holyhead at nine o'clock the next morning.[2]

In this same year two "English Gentlemen," riding with a guide, but travelling in more leisurely fashion, leave Holywell at ten in the morning and reach the Conway ferry towards evening. They have a considerable time to wait for the ferry-boat, which is on the far side of the river, and their guide entertains them with a long story about a man who had once attempted to swim his horse across. These gentlemen state that the country "has the meagre Face of Poverty; yet there was Plenty at our Inn, and everything extraordinary good of it's kind." They express the opinion that travellers form the chief support of the people of Conway.[3]

In 1749 we have Boydell's View of Conway, taken from the Creuddyn side of the river. In the foreground is one of the ferry-boats, which has grounded a few yards from the shore. One of the ferrymen is getting into the water from the boat's bow. Another, already in the water, is about to carry a female passenger ashore on his back. Standing athwart ship, in the stern, are three horses; and we may assume that, when the passengers have all been landed, the horses will be forced over the boat's side into the water, an operation which we shall later find much objected to by parties travelling on their own horses.

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[1] Defoe, *Tour,* Vol. II, p. 463.

[2] *Bye-Gones,* 21st August, 1901, p. 167.

[3] *A Tour through Ireland, in several Entertaining Letters, by Two English Gentlemen,* London, 1748.

So far we have met with no mention of a wheeled vehicle at the ferry since the time of Lord Clarendon's journey. We find the Duke of Ormonde, at the beginning of this century, commending Lord Bulkeley's proposed road over Penmaen Mawr, as likely to be of "great advantage to the Nobility, Gentry and Merchants of Ireland, travelling to and from London."[1]

Substantial financial support towards the construction of this road appears to have been received from Ireland; and we may assume that members of the Irish nobility, as well as Lord Bulkeley, and one or two other local people of wealth and standing, must have been making periodical journeys to and from London in their coaches, during these years. We have, however, found no records of any such passing the Conway ferry.

We learn, incidentally, that Mrs. Meyrick of Bodorgan died in London, in the spring of 1742; and we find William Bulkeley noting in his diary on 3rd April that he had arrived at Llangefni about nine o'clock in the morning, "where the Hearse and mourning coaches were already come," and had followed the cortege to Llangadwaladr.[2]

We find William Morris writing, in October, 1743, that Lord Londonderry, "came in a hired chair and pair to Holyhead, attended by two livery men." He again writes, in August, 1753, that "We had about a month or six weeks ago 8 coaches chariots and postchaises in the compass of 48 hours from Chester"; and once more, in September, 1759, "Common these days to see two or three postchaises arriving at Holyhead at the same time."[3]

We may note that though it is, by 1759, common to see two or three postchaises arriving at the same time, the fact is still worth writing about, and we are inclined to assume that ordinary travellers were still, for the most part, riding on horseback. John Wesley lands at Holyhead in August, 1756, and writes: "Having hired horses for Chester we set out about seven. Before one we reached Bangor." He was in Conway that evening, and reached Chester next day.[4] Ogilby informs us that stage coaches were running between London and Chester, in 1673, but west of Chester there is so far no mention of them.

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[1] *Arch. Camb.*, 1852, p. 31.

[2] Diary of William Bulkeley of Brynddu (U.C.N.W. MSS.).

[3] *Morris Letters*, I, 75.

[4] Wesley, *Journal.*

We may probably find an indication of the growing importance of wheeled traffic, in the appearance of maps showing the roads.

In 1744 we have maps of Denbighshire and Flintshire, which, in addition to the Ogilby road to the Conway ferry, through Denbigh and Bettws, show a road through Northop to Holywell and thence to Abergele, both through Rhuddlan and through St. Asaph, and so to the ferry. We are also shown a road from Denbigh by Llansannan to Tal-y-cafn.[1]

In 1753 we have another and much superior map, which also shows the above among other roads.[2] Neither of these maps, however, indicates any other than the Ogilby roads in Caernarvonshire.

In 1757 the road from Mold to Northop, Holywell, and Rhuddlan "and from thence to the Ferry House opposite the Town of Conway" was turnpiked.[3]

The road through St. Asaph was certainly turnpiked in one of these years, but was, perhaps, dealt with piecemeal under more than one Trust. The Act, or Acts, have not been identified. It soon became the main road, that through Rhuddlan being avoided on account of its marshy character.[4]

In 1759 the road from Mold to Denbigh, Tal-y-cafn, and Conway is turnpiked.[5] The Act does not specify the route between Denbigh and Tal-y-cafn, but it was almost certainly that by Llansannan and Llangerniew, which, a little later, we find recommended to travellers.

We thus, by 1760, have turnpike roads reaching the Conway ferry by Abergele, and reaching the town of Conway by Tal-y-cafn ; but the road over Penmaen Mawr is in a bad and dangerous state, and the gentlemen of Caernarvonshire do not see their way to restoring it to a sound condition, out of such funds as could be raised upon the security of the turnpike tolls.

Stage coaches, however, would appear to have commenced running between Chester and Holyhead, about this time. We have a letter written by a gentleman in Dublin to a friend in

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[1] Dodsley, *Geography.*

[2] Moll, *Atlas.*

[3] 30 Geo. II, c. 69.

[4] The road from St. Asaph to Abergele passed south of Bodelwyddan and Kinmel, and by St. George, until after the days of the Conway ferry. *Vide* 1841 Ordnance Survey, and earlier Maps.

[5] 32 Geo. II, c. 55.

England, in 1764, which compares the respective routes from England to Dublin. Here we are told that "Those who shall take the Chester Road, if they have much baggage to carry and are not fearful of the sea, will find the passage from Park-Gate much the easiest and the most convenient, as it is very troublesome and expensive getting heavy luggage for 90 miles over the mountainous country, wide and rapid ferry ways of North Wales. However, the passage over land is, of late years, made much safer and more convenient, by the making of a turnpike road through the country and by the running of a coach or two from Chester to the Head, which they perform in two days very well; or otherwise you may be accommodated with horses and a guide from Chester quite on to the Head."[1]

The old road over the Sychnant pass descended very steeply, on the west side, to Dwygyfylchi Church, where it divided into two branches. One of these led to the shore beneath Penmaen Bach, and the other to the shore at a point rather less than halfway from Penmaen Bach to Penmaen Mawr. There was also a road of sorts along the shore, just above the shingle, which led right up to the base at Penmaen Mawr.[2] Travellers on horseback doubtless traversed the old road over the Sychnant at high water, but it would not appear to have been used by wheeled vehicles; and it is probable that the stage coaches, at this date, had to time their journeys so as to pass under Penmaen Bach.

The road across Anglesey was turnpiked, in 1765,[3] but it is not until 1769 that the problem of the road over Penmaen Mawr is faced.

A grant of £2,000 is now secured from Parliament towards the outlay at Penmaen Mawr, and a Turnpike Trust is constituted for the entire length of road, from Tal-y-cafn by Conway, Bangor, and Caernarvon, to Pwllheli; the road between Tal-y-cafn and Conway being taken over by the new Caernarvonshire Trust.[4] John Sylvester is now entrusted with the reconstruction of the road across Penmaen Mawr, and he connects it by a new road along the higher ground, with the Sychnant pass. The Sylvester road appears to have been completed in 1772, and there is now a turnpike road from Chester to Holyhead, both by Conway and by Tal-y-cafn.

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[1] *Hibernia Curiosa.*

[2] The old road, from Sychnant to the shore, figures in the Ordnance Survey of 1818–23. For the road along the shore, see *A Tour from Holyhead to Chester*, included in a "Collection of Welsh Tours," said to have been first published, in 1791; also Boydell's "View of Penmaen Mawr," dated 1750.

[3] 5 Geo. III, c. 56.

[4] Journals of the House of Commons, 1769, Vol. XXXII, pp. 159 and 390.

In August, 1774, Dr. Johnson, travelling in a coach with Mr. and Mrs. Thrale and their daughter, comes from Lleweny, by Abergele and Penmaen Rhos, to the Conway ferry. They arrived, apparently, at the same times as the stage coach. We are told that they "passed in small boats, with some passengers from the stage coach, ... The tide did not serve the large ferry-boat, and therefore our coach could not very soon follow us. We were, therefore, to stay at the Inn." It proved to be the time of the Conway races, and they with difficulty procured some cold dinner, but could not be accommodated for the night. Dr. Johnson was very nervous at the prospect of having to cross Penmaen Mawr in the dark. We read, however, that "Our coach was at last brought, and we set out with some anxiety, but we came to Penmaen Mawr by daylight; and found a way, lately made, very easy, and very safe."[1]

We may note that the passengers by the stage coach, who crossed with Dr. Johnson, secured accommodation for the night. Conway was thus the stopping place of the stage coach between Chester and Holyhead.

In July, of the same year, 1774, Wyndham came from Beaumaris to Conway on a riding tour. "We were now," he states, "in the great Irish road; the article of eating was doubled in our bills, and the door of our inn was crowded with beggars." Conway was full of Irish linen merchants on their way to Chester fair. He next morning "crossed the wide ferry," and passed over Penmaen Rhos to St. Asaph.[2]

Joseph Cradock crossed the Conway ferry in the autumn of 1776. He had been making diligent inquiry throughout Caernarvonshire, and part of Denbighshire, for the "Glyder Mountain." All his inquiries had been in vain, until he entered the Conway ferry-boat, when an old boatman informed him "that in his younger days indeed it was sometimes termed the Glyder, but was now known only by the name of Wythwar . . . that it was within a mile or two of a village called Clynog, and upon the shore almost opposite to Carnarvon." With this information Joseph Cradock is "confident any future Traveller may very readily satisfy his curiosity."[3]

We have so far met with no complaints about the Conway ferry further than a statement, in 1770, written prior to the construction of the Sylvester road that "Such as travel from

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[1] Johnson, *Diary*, pp. 94–6.

[2] Wyndham, Tour, pp. 150–6.

[3] Cradock, *Account*, pp. 80–85.

Chester to Holy-head, sometimes go by a place called Bwlch-y-ddau-fain, thereby avoiding Conway and Penmaenmawr." In 1777, however, we begin to meet with very definite complaints, and to hear much about alternative routes by which the Conway ferry may be missed.

Travellers are informed, in 1777, that "The road from Chester to Holyhead is in general a fine turnpike road, but at the ferries and on the road you meet with great imposition. They charge the travellers in carriages 1s. a piece at each ferry, whereas they ought to demand no more than 1d. and 2d. for a horse." The second ferry referred to is, of course, Porthaethwy. The same writer recommends the road from Denbigh to Conway by Llansannan and Tal-y-cafn, on the ground that "by going this road you will avoid Conway Ferry, which is very disagreeable to strangers, and sometimes dangerous."[1]

We later find Davies Griffith, of Caerhun, referring to another route by which the Conway ferry had been avoided. The road in question left the Chester road near Kinmel and came by Bettws to Tal-y-cafn. "I well recollect," writes Davies Griffith, "public coaches travelling along this road as far as Tal-y-cafn, from whence they proceeded to Conway, avoiding the tedious Ferry, at that place."[2]

In the year 1777 the Caernarvon Turnpike Trust obtained a new Act, extending its term and increasing still further its long line of road. The additions now comprised a road from Aber over Bwlch-y-ddeufaen to Tal-y-cafn ferry and "thence to the town of Llanrwst"; and also a road "from Tal-y-Cafn Ferry aforesaid, on the Denbighshire side of the River Conway, to join the Turnpike Road between Conway and St. Asaph at a place called Sarn-y-Mynech."[3] The trustees never attempted to construct their road over Bwlch-y-ddeufaen owing, as Davies

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[1] *Letters from Snowdon* (author unnamed), 1st edition published in 1770; 2nd edition in 1777. To the latter is prefixed an "Account of the Inns and Roads with Directions for Travellers."

The authorship of these *Letters* has been widely attributed to Joseph Cradock. The latter in his account of his journey, of 1776, refers to the stage in which he enters Wales, at Welshpool, as "my last stage upon known ground," and nowhere claims any previous acquaintance with the country. It may also be noted that the editor of the second edition of the *Letters* refers to the author as deceased. Joseph Cradock is said to have lived until 1826 (D.N.B.).

[2] Griffith, *Impartial Thoughts*, p. 54.

[3] 17 Geo. III, c. 110. We have previously referred to the old causeway, but this is the earliest mention of the name which has been met with. Penysarn on the Denbighshire side, and Talysarn on the Caernarvonshire side, figure in the earlier Ordnance Surveys, but it is not until the issue of the 6-in. O.S. that the name "Sarn Mynach" first appears on a map.

Griffith puts it, to a deficiency in the funds. The road down to Sarn-y-Mynach provided still another route for avoiding the Conway ferry, but the really important development which follows the new Act of 1777 is covered by the words "thence to the town of Llanrwst."

Shrewsbury had at this time become a very important coaching centre. The first coach from Shrewsbury to Holyhead is said to have commenced running, in 1779, by Wrexham, Mold, St. Asaph, and Conway. It ran on three days a week, and is said to have done the journey in a day and a half. This coach appears to have ceased to run after a very few years, a better route having meanwhile been opened up.[1]

Already, in 1776, a road from Shrewsbury, through Oswestry, Llangollen, Corwen, and Cerrig-y-Drudion to Llanrwst, is being brought to the notice of travellers ;[2] and the last portion of this road, i.e. from Llangollen, and through Pentre Voelas to Llanrwst, is turnpiked in 1777,[3] the same year as that in which the Caernarvon Trust extends its line to Llanrwst. This line of road through Shrewsbury, Pentre Voelas, Llanrwst, and Conway now becomes the great coaching route from London, and most parts of England to Holyhead ; and, in 1780, coaches begin running along it from London to Holyhead in three days. They stop at Castle-Bromwich the first night ; at Oswestry the second ; and are due at Holyhead by the third.[4] The earlier routes, for avoiding the Conway ferry, had brought increased business to Tal-y-cafn, but by the new route the traffic crosses the Llanrwst bridge and escapes both the ferries.

Our only reference to cattle crossing the river Conway has been found among the early recollections of Sir John Thomas Stanley. Among these we find specified "a night spent at St. Asaph, a visit to Bodelwyddan and seeing bullocks drove across the Conway river near the Castle." This appears to have been in 1776, when he was ten years old.[5]

One is inclined to regard this crossing of the Conway river by cattle as a merely incidental occurrence. So much has been written about Conway that the fact would certainly have been recorded if the droves of cattle which crossed at Porthaethwy had been customarily driven across the river at Conway, on their way eastward. It seems more probable that they passed over

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[1] Harper, *Holyhead Road,* Vol. II, p. 109.

[2] *Daniel Patterson, A New and Accurate Description of all the Roads, etc.* 3rd edition, 1776.

[3] 17 Geo. III, c. 99.

[4] Harper, *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 15.

[5] Adeane, p. 5.

Bwlch-y-ddeufaen, but no information upon the subject has been met with.[1]

In May, 1780, three tourists come from Northop to the ferry by postchaise. They appear to have arrived at a state of the tide when the sandbanks could not be crossed to the usual landing place, either by boat, or on foot. They had to walk about a quarter-of-a-mile lower down to the river, to a point which the boat could reach, and were then ferried over for 1s. apiece. They spent the night at the "Bull's Head," and took a Conway chaise, on to Bangor, in the morning.[2]

John Wesley lands at Holyhead, once more, in April, 1781. He does not hire horses this time but takes the stage coach, and "the next evening came to Chester."[3]

John Byng, touring North Wales on horseback with a friend, came from Beaumaris to Conway, in July, 1784. He writes that "Conway is a poor mean place and only subsists on the travell thro' the town. There is near our inn [the Bull's Head] a very ancient large mansion now let out in poor tenements, containing nothing of curiosity but some old ceilings, numberless grotesque figures on the walls, and chimney pieces with the arms of Queen Elizabeth.

At the verge of the town we had the misery of embarking on board another ferry-boat, the danger and destruction of horses; and hereabouts they are all ill contriv'd and dirty, and to strange horses a service of great hazard, for they are oblig'd to leap out of, and into, deep water. My horse performs these operations but awkwardly, and Mr. P's wou'd not enter for ten minutes. This bad boatage, over a stream one mile broad is one of the causes of a new London road being open'd thro Llanrwst, which in a short time will eclipse the old Chester road."

On their way to St. Asaph they went out of their way to view Rhuddlan Castle, and Byng writes that "The road over the marsh is very boggy, unless you keep the pavé, which is exactly like the French roads; and this was the old way to London."[4]

The Chester road, however, was not quite done with. The Chester paper *Adams's Weekly Courant*, of 13th September, 1785, has an advertisement headed "Chester Mail Coaches." This states that "The Proprietors of the above Coaches having to convey the Irish Mail to and from London and Holyhead, with a Guard for its Protection, respectfully inform the Public that they set out on Monday the 3rd of October; and that the coaches are constructed so as to accommodate four Inside Passengers in the most convenient Manner. They will continue to set out from Wilson's Swan with two Necks, Lad Lane, London; Jackson's Eagle and Child, Holyhead; and Paul's King's Arms & Bull, Chester, every Day in the Week. Fare: From London to Chester, £3.3.0. From Chester to Holyhead £1.11.6."

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[1] The late W. Bezant Lowe, writing about 1927, and apparently referring to the road over Bwlch-y-ddeufaen, states that; "About 250 years ago, cattle that had been landed on the coast from Ireland, were said to have been driven along this road." No reference for the statement is given. (*Northern Wales*, Vol. II, p. 133.)

[2] *A Month's Tour in North Wales, Dublin, etc., in the year* 1780, London, 1781, p. 16.

[3] Wesley, *Journal.*

[4] *Torrington Diaries*, Vol. I, p. 169.

The columns of this paper provide evidence of the keenness with which Shrewsbury had competed against Chester for this Irish mail. In later years we find Post Office officials informing the Parliamentary Committee on the Holyhead Roads, that the correspondence carried to Holyhead by the Chester coach, from Liverpool and Manchester and other towns, was of the highest commercial importance. This was doubtless the factor which decided the route of the Irish mail, in favour of Chester, at this time.

According to a table published, in 1787, the mail coach was supposed to arrive at Chester at 1 a.m. on the second day; at Conway at 10 a.m.; Bangor at 1 p.m.; and Holyhead 7 p.m. The mail coaches left London at 8 p.m., and this would give forty-seven hours from London to Holyhead, a time which is little bettered up to 1808.[1]

Pennant, writing in 1793, states that "before the institution of mail-coaches, two stage coaches ran through the County of Flint" and that the mail coaches "occasioned the suppression of the common stages." Pennant's case as to the inequity of compelling poor districts to maintain their roads at the standard required for a mail coach, which itself traversed them free of toll, may be unanswerable. But if a mail coach, carrying but four passengers, could drive two stage coaches off the road, we may fairly comment that the two stage coaches can have enjoyed but little patronage. One is inclined to conclude that one of these two stage coaches was the coach from Shrewsbury which ran through Wrexham and Mold; and that, in any case, it was the diversion of the traffic to the route through Llangollen and Llanrwst which was mainly responsible for the collapse of the stage coaches across Flintshire. We shall later be told of the difficulty with which the Chester mail coach itself was being kept on the road, after the mail had commenced to run through Shrewsbury, owing to the paucity of travellers by this route.[1]

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[1] Table, published in Cary's *New and Correct Atlas*, 1787. Lowndes' *London Directory*, 1788, states that the mail coaches leave London at eight o'clock every evening except Sunday. See also Joyce, *Post Office*, p. 281.

Several tourists have recorded their experiences at the Conway ferry, during the closing years of the eighteenth century.

Hutton was much annoyed at the way in which his horses were flogged into the ferry-boat; but says that he might as well have addressed the boat as the boatmen.[2]

Richard Warner, in August, 1798, walked with some friends from "the little bathing town of Abergelau" past the quarries of "Cefn Ogo," and reached the "passage house" on the Conway river late in the evening. They found that the tide was out and that they must cross the sands to the point "about three quarters of a mile distant, where a boat was in waiting." They questioned the safety of so doing, in the dark, without a guide, but were told that if they hastened they would overtake three old women who were crossing to Conway with butter and eggs. They overtook the old ladies, but found them wading through a stream with their shoes and stockings off. However, under their directions, they made a detour to avoid the stream, and eventually reached the boat; but were very nervous about the sands which occasionally gave way beneath their feet.[3]

William Bingley toured North Wales, in 1798 and in 1801, and writes as follows regarding the Conway ferry :—

> "Besides the inconveniences naturally attending so wide a stream, in a place subject to all the variations produced by the flowing and ebbing of tides that run sometimes very high, most of the travellers who have crossed here (except the passengers in the Mail coach, who, by order of the post office, have a boat always waiting for them), know what it is to experience the wilful delays, and the gross and barefaced impositions of the ferry-men. The charges ought to be a penny for every person on foot, except with respect to those who come in the public coaches or in post chaises, who are required, though from what principle I cannot learn, to pay a shilling each; two pence for a man and horse, and half a crown a wheel for gentlemen's carriages. Instead of the latter fare, I have myself known them with the most impudent assurance possible, charge half a guinea for ferrying over a gig, and after receiving that, importune

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[1] Pennant, *Life*, App. 7. No outside passengers were carried on the mail coaches until 1792. A new model, then adopted, provided one seat outside —Joyce, *Post Office*, pp. 282–3.

[2] Hutton, *North Wales*, p. 216.

[3] Warner, *Second Walk*, pp. 269–273.

> in addition for liquor. The ferry is the property of Thomas Williams, Esq., of Llanidan, in Anglesea, the member for Great Marlow, and is regulated by Mr. Hughes of Marl, a place about three quarters of a mile from the ferry-house. The latter person . . . informed me the fares were as above, with what the travellers pleased to give the men besides; and that they were paid seven shillings a week each from him, but were entitled to what they could get in addition. . . . These impositions, however, unpleasant as they may be, are trifling inconveniences to those suffered from their wilful and needless delays. In the finest weather, . . . persons have frequently waited for them several hours, and indeed instances have occurred of such being under the necessity of remaining at the ferry-house a whole night in consequence merely of their neglect. I have more than once experienced both their impositions and delays myself, and am acquainted with several gentlemen who have suffered infinitely more from them than ever I did, It is however in contemplation to erect a bridge across the stream . . . when all these inconveniences will at once be obviated."[1]

The bridge referred to by Bingley, as in contemplation, was that for which Rennie submitted designs in 1802. He proposed to form an "embankment of earth" from the eastern shore to within 230 yards of the little island. His difficulty lay in this 230 yards, where he had to cope with shifting sands of considerable depth. He propounded a scheme for constructing a causeway through these sands, the top of which was to be some distance below high-water level; and he proposed to utilise this causeway as the foundation for a series of arches, which were to carry an inclined roadway from the embankment up to an iron arch, one hundred feet above high-water mark, between the island and the castle. Another inclined roadway was to pass from the bridge, through the Castle, to the upper part of the town. He considered that the water, passing through the arches at high water, would be sufficient to prevent any injury to the town through the narrowing of the high-water channel.

Rennie's estimate for this bridge was £164,180, but he stated that a low bridge could be constructed for one-fourth of this amount.[2]

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[1] Bingley, *North Wales,* Vol. I, pp. 106–108.

[2] Appendix to the Second Report from the Committee on Holyhead Roads, etc., 1810 (Parl. Papers).

Though the diversion of the greater part of the traffic to the Pentre Voelas–Llanrwst road must have seriously prejudiced the Conway ferry, the town of Conway appears to have served as a stage between Llanrwst and Bangor, and to have derived considerable profit from those who travelled this road. We now come, however, to the opening of a new route, which leaves both Llanrwst and Conway out in the cold.

Lord Penrhyn appears to have made his road up the west side of Nant Ffrancon in 1791, and at the same time, or shortly after, to have carried it on to Capel Curig, where he built an inn. The road up Nant Ffrancon is referred to, in 1792, as "sufficiently commodious for a wheel carriage."[1] Aikin failed to secure accommodation for the night at Capel Curig, in August, 1796, so the inn had not yet been built;[2] but Bingley pays it a visit in 1798 or 1801. Lord Penrhyn's road was only designed to open up the district, and never carried through traffic. Bingley, however, indicates that carriages could reach Capel Curig, both up Nant Ffrancon and from Llanrwst.[3]

In 1802 the Act was passed, under which the turnpike road from Llandegai, up the east side of Nant Ffrancon, and by Capel Curig and Bettws-y-coed to Pentre Voelas, came into existence.[4] Lord Penrhyn was again the principal promoter of this new road. It took some little time to construct, but in May, 1805, we find Miss M. J. Stanley writing from Cheshire: "We left Holyhead on Tuesday, and returned through the new Capel Curig road, now making through the finest scenery imaginable, under the auspieces of Lord Penrhyn. The Conway ferry is avoided."[5]

In the first number of the *North Wales Gazette* on 5th January, 1808, we find Mr. Griffith, of the Capel Curig Inn, expressing regret at the past insufficiency of his accommodation but stating that he has now sixty bedrooms and parlours, and a full establishment of horses and carriages. Mr. Griffith is not addressing summer visitors but travellers, whom he reminds that, by the Capel Curig road, "they have not to encounter the vexatious delays of a ferry, too well known by fatal experience to be dangerous."

The Shrewsbury mail coach is extended to Holyhead, along the Capel Curig road, in the late summer of 1808. It leaves London for the first time as Irish mail at 8 p.m. on 5th September. The Liverpool and Manchester mails for Ireland are despatched from Chester at 7 p.m. on 6th September by express rider to meet the new mail coach at Chirk;[1] and we have the following memorandum by a Holyhead Post Office official: "Wednesday, 7th September, 1808, arrived the first mail coach by Capel Curig Road at half past one, and at twenty minutes after two, sailed the Uxbridge, with the said Mail."[2]

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[1] Nicholas Owen, *Caernarvonshire, A Sketch of Its History*, 1792.

[2] Aikin, *Journal.*

[3] Bingley, *North Wales,* Vol. II, p. 350.

[4] 42 Geo. III, c. 51.

[5] Adeane, p. 279.

The Chester mail coach, though it no longer carries any Irish mails, still continues to run through to Holyhead, which it reached, at this time, between 6 p.m. and 7 p.m., some five hours behind the Shrewsbury coach.[3] The Committee on Holyhead Roads is told, in 1815, that this coach "carries the London and bye letters intermediate between London and Bangor, to all these towns; and the reason why the Coach continues on to Holyhead, the last 26 miles, is for the sake of passengers and parcels, to reimburse the contractors, and not for the correspondence."[4] The passengers, however, do not arrive in time for that day's mail packet.

The Committee is also informed, at this time, that the Chester coach had never paid its expenses after the establishment of the mail coach through Shrewsbury, and that in 1812 the proprietors had been allowed "what they called an auxiliary Mail Coach, which was to permit them to carry four passengers on the outside from Dunstable to the Head, hoping that by carrying greater numbers they should be able to augment their earnings." The additional passengers had not, however, been forthcoming, and in 1815 the proprietors were petitioning the Post Master General "to restore it to a Mail Coach again."[5]

The only reference to the mail coach at the Conway ferry, prior to 1808, which has been met with, concerns a disaster to the ferry-boat. We are told that "On Christmas day, 1806, owing to a heavy swell in the river, the boat conveying the Irish Mail, with eight passengers, the coachman, guard and a youth, about 15 years of age, in all 15 in number, including the boatmen, was upset, and only two persons saved."[6] If the eight passengers were all from the mail coach, it would seem that an auxiliary coach had been running at an earlier date than 1812;

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[1] Notice from Postmaster-General, dated P.O. Chester, 1st September, and published in *N.W.G.*, 6th October, 1808.

[2] Watson, *Royal Mail to Ireland*, p. 95.

[3] 5th Report of Select Committee on Holyhead Roads, 1819—Mr. Thos. Spencer's evidence (Parl. Papers).

[4] 2nd Report Committee on Holyhead Roads, 1815—Evidence of Thos. Hasker (Parl. Papers).

[5] 2nd Report from Committee on Holyhead Roads, 1815—Evidence of T. Hasker (Parl. Papers).

[6] Nicholson, *Guide*.

but other passengers were probably crossing in the boat, besides those from the coach.

We once more meet with the mail coach, at the ferry, in 1813. T. J. Hogg describes a journey from London to Holyhead, as an outside passenger on this coach, in March, of this year. It was very wet, and while driving along the coast, drenched to the skin, he was looking forward to his breakfast at Conway. "The Cambrian coachman pulled up short at the mouth of a wide river, wild, rough, and stormy as the sea itself, ... We got into a boat, or rather the mail coach was emptied of all its lumber, living, dead and half dead, into a large ferry-boat; we had a rude and tedious passage across. When we were midway, they spoke of a fatal accident that had occurred there just a month before; that the ferry-boat was upset and the mail-guard drowned." The inn at Conway was miserable, and the breakfast worse. "Vile bread, vile butter, and the vilest tea; we ordered other things, they readily promised to bring them, and they told us, growing impatient, that they were coming directly; but the guard came first," and they had to set out once more, through the rain.[1]

The coaching advertisements which appear in the *North Wales Gazette*, during its early years, from 1808 onwards, show that a post, or stage coach ran daily between Holyhead and Shrewsbury, as well as the mail; but that the mail coach only was running between Holyhead and Chester. These advertisements show, also, that a Mr. J. Williams was running weekly "Fly Waggons," between Holyhead and Shrewsbury, and between Holyhead and Chester. The Shrewsbury waggon followed the Conway and Llanrwst route, and was four days on the road. We are not told how long the Chester waggon took, but we meet with it in trouble at the Conway ferry.

The *North Wales Gazette*, of 25th February, 1808, publishes a communication from Conway, which states that at six o'clock on the previous Thursday evening the horse-boat had sailed from the Denbighshire side of the river, with the goods of the Chester waggon. There were on board, Mr. Williams, the proprietor of the waggon; Mr. Samuel Walker, of Beaumaris, with his horse; and three ferrymen. There was a heavy storm and, in the darkness, the boatmen lost their bearings, but by good fortune reached the island. Here, the ferrymen, on the pretence of calling for help, left the boat. The horse was got out but the boat sank and the goods were lost, despite Mr. Williams's endeavours to save them. Volunteers from Conway eventually rescued the party. The communication ends with the statement: "No comments are necessary on the conduct of the boatmen, it being universally allowed that the Conway boatmen are in general far more disagreeable to passengers than the ferry itself."

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[1] Hogg. *Shelley*, Vol. I, pp. 392–4.

In 1810 we have the first of the Parliamentary Committees on the Holyhead Roads and Harbour. The Committee of this year has before it Rennie's plans, of 1802, for a bridge at Conway. It reports that "the Ferry which travellers are obliged to pass at Conway is attended with serious inconvenience, much delay, occasional danger and even actual loss of lives." But it forbears to recommend the construction of a bridge, at considerable expense, in view of the possibility that some line of road between Chester and Holyhead, other than that through Conway, might eventually be favoured.[1]

The only alternative routes considered, during this and the following year, are: from Aber by Bwlch-y-ddeufaen to Tal-y-cafn, and thence by Bettws to St. Asaph; from the Shrewsbury road at Cerrig-y-Druidion by Ruthin and Mold; and again, from the Shrewsbury road, just west of Corwen, past Rug and through Llandegla.

Another Committee sits, in 1811, and Telford now reports upon the Chester and the Shrewsbury roads, and submits a design for a bridge at Conway. He proposed to span the Channel, between the town and the island, with a cast-iron arch, some 20 feet above high-water level. The rocky island was to be entirely cut away to low-water mark, and a series of arches built across it. In one place the rock was to be removed to a still lower level, and a passage for vessels formed, which was to be spanned by a drawbridge. From the island to the eastern shore, an embankment was to be constructed across the sands. His estimate for this work was £44,178.

The Committee this year recommends, *inter alia*, that a bridge should be built at Conway in accordance with Telford's plan;[2] but no action is taken, and the question of the improvement of the two Holyhead roads is shelved for the next four years.

Telford, in his Report of 1811, mentions quicksands, as one of the dangers encountered in crossing at Conway, and we several times meet with references to these, such as cautions to travellers to consult the ferrymen, or others, as to the line to be followed in crossing the sands. Colonel Peacock, of Plas Llanfair, Anglesey, who appears to have done much travelling in his own coach, gave evidence before the Committee in 1810. He states that he frequently crossed the Conway ferry, and that it is "a very dangerous Ferry, for the sands are very dangerous at low water; in crossing Conway Ferry my horses have been several times in disagreeable situations." In this connection we may also quote a statement made by the Editor of the *Cambrian Tourist*, of 1821, that he "had a very narrow escape, when a lad, of being drowned in going down to meet the ferry-boat on the first flowing of the tide, when the sands suddenly became all in motion; two men from the ferry-house with difficulty rescued me from my perilous situation."[1]

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[1] 2nd Report from Committee on Holyhead Roads and Harbour, 1810 (Parl. Papers).

[2] Report from Committee on Holyhead Roads, 1811, and Appendix No. 2 (Parl. Papers).

Richard Fenton made his tours through North Wales, during the early years of the century, mostly on horseback. Describing a trip to Gloddaeth, in September, 1813, he writes: "Crossed over the Ferry of Conway with my friend Mr. Owen, after having our patience tried to the utmost by waiting for above 2 Hours at the Ferry, and experiencing the most unexampled and savage insolence from the Ferrymen." Two days later, returning from Llandrillo Church to Aber, he comes once more to the ferry "where we waited in vain for two hours for the ferry boat, the wind being too high to admit of its crossing, which obliged us to go all round to Tal-y-cafn; and then, through a most tempestuous night over Bwlch-y-Ddwyfaen to Aber."[2]

Fenton does not hold the ferrymen responsible, upon the latter occasion, but during this same year we meet with a very severe indictment of the Conway ferry and its management.

A Mr. Hamilton Fulton, who had a couple of years earlier assisted Telford in his survey of the mail coach roads through North Wales, is employed by the Post Master General, in 1813, to report upon the condition of these roads. In his Report, he states that Sychnant is the greatest obstacle on the road between Llandegai and Chester, but adds "If this last stage, and every other on the line, were in as complete a state as it is possible to put them, still the Ferry of Conway, under its present management, would deter travellers from passing this Road, unless business in some of the intermediate towns obliged them: it is a pity that a ferry of so much public importance should be regulated so very badly, and that passengers should be subjected to the insolence and imposition of such men as are here employed."[1]

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[1] *Cambrian Tourist*, 5th Edition, 1821, p. 339.

[2] "Tours in Wales" (1804–1813), by Richard Fenton, *Arch. Camb. Suppt.*, 1917, pp. 243–5.

There can be no question that the Conway ferrymen had established a very evil reputation throughout the countryside. What is surprising is that no attempt appears to have been made, locally, to place a check upon their proceedings. Where were the "Gentlemen of Conway" in these days? Hamilton Fulton's Report was published by the Select Committee in 1815, but there is no indication that Mr. Owen Williams, M.P., took any steps to place matters on a better footing. Others in Conway, besides the ferrymen, were interested in the exploiting of the travellers, at this time, and the ferrymen were not, as will presently appear, without countenance and support in the town.

The Select Committee of 1815 makes no recommendations for the building of bridges, either at Conway or across the Menai Straits; but it has much to say as to the utter unsuitability of the Holyhead road, through North Wales, for mail coach traffic. Following its Report, a Parliamentary grant is voted, and Telford gets to work upon the road between Cerrig-y-Druidion and the Bangor ferry. The Chester road, however, receives no attention.

In 1818, Conway, and the Conway ferrymen, come once more very prominently into notice.

In September of this year a Mr. Salmon, described as an attorney, resident in Bath, booked a place as an outside passenger by the mail coach, from Liverpool to Holyhead. He came with the coach to Conway, crossed the ferry, and proceeded to the inn where the passengers usually breakfasted. This inn would appear to have been "The Harp," distant about 200 yards from the ferry landing place, and in the immediate vicinity of the post office.

The proprietor of the inn was named Atkinson. He was also a part-proprietor of the mail coach, and himself in the habit of driving the coach between Conway and the Bangor ferry.

After finishing his breakfast, Mr. Salmon proceeded to join the coach, now drawn up outside, and was accosted by the ferryman, of the name of Jones, who demanded 6d. of him, as his fare as an outside passenger. This Mr. Salmon refused to pay, whereupon the ferryman Jones prevented him from mounting to his seat on the coach. After some altercation, during which Atkinson, on the box, offered to pay the 6d. for Mr. Salmon, an offer which the latter declined, the coach drove off and left Mr. Salmon behind.

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[1] Appendix to 1st Report from Select Committee on Holyhead Roads, 1815 (Parl. Papers).

After a visit to a local justice, which was apparently without result, Mr. Salmon proceeded to Holyhead in a post-chaise, and subsequently claimed the cost of the hire of the chaise, from the coach proprietors.

The case—Salmon *v.* Atkinson and others—was tried in the Court of King's Bench, before Chief Justice Abbott, on 4th December, 1818. The *Times*, of the following day, prints a report of the case. It is here stated that there were three ferries between Liverpool and Holyhead, one across the Mersey, and the others at Conway and Bangor. The coach proprietors defrayed the ferriage across the Mersey, but not at Conway or Bangor. The point at issue, however, was not whether the proprietors should pay the ferriage for passengers by the mail coach, but "Whether, upon the present occasion, the defendant's coachman, who was also a proprietor, was not in collusion with the ferryman and postmaster at Conway, to make the passengers pay an illegal demand; the fare for the ordinary foot-passengers being 1d. and for a horse and rider 2d., while 6d. was demanded of the outside coach passengers and 1s. of the inside passengers."

The plaintiff's clerk, who had served the writ upon Atkinson, stated that the latter told him "that it was always usual for the passengers to pay the ferry; if they did not, he drove off without them, unless they had baggage which might be stopped by the ferrymen; upon one occasion four passengers refused to pay and he drove off without them."

The defence was that the passengers always paid the ferry; that the coachman, Atkinson, had not prevented Mr. Salmon from mounting on the coach; and that when he drove off, he did so upon the instruction of the guard. The guard, however, was not placed in the witness box, an omission which is duly commented on.

Jones "had been ferryman for seven years: he stated that the passengers always paid the ferry, he never received it from the coachman. The coach stopped half an hour at breakfast, and he usually demanded his fare when breakfast was over, just before the passengers mounted. The plaintiff refused to pay on the occasion in question, upon which he extended his arm to prevent him from mounting on the coach, but there was nothing else to prevent him."

Mr. Roberts, the Postmaster of Conway, confirmed the ferryman's evidence regarding the dispute with Mr. Salmon. He then made a statement as to the payment for the conveyance of the mails across the ferry, which statement as reported is very far from clear. It reads as follows: "30l. had been taken off his salary to pay for the ferriage of the mail-bag. He had formerly been allowed 7l. 10s. for the same purpose, but he had never paid any part of it to the ferryman. General Lloyd was the proprietor of the ferry; and he believed, had a remuneration of a term of years, for carrying over the bag."

Following the Postmaster's evidence, it is stated that the Chief Justice "intimated that the ferryman, postmaster and coachman ought all to be indicted."

Three other witnesses gave evidence exonerating Atkinson from the charge of preventing Mr. Salmon from mounting the coach.

In summing up, the Chief Justice stated that the demand of 1s. and of 6d. for crossing the ferry was an unlawful demand, and that if the jury believed from the evidence that the coachman was in league with the ferryman in enforcing it, they would return a verdict for the plaintiff. This the jury did, awarding the sum of £2 17s. 0d. claimed as damages, being the amount paid for the post-chaise which the plaintiff had hired from Conway to Holyhead.[1]

It is unfortunate that the Postmaster's statement, regarding the payment for the ferriage of the mail-bag, is not more explicit. We may perhaps read it as indicating that the responsibility for arranging for the prompt transport of the bag had earlier been entrusted to the Postmaster, and taken into consideration in fixing his salary; but that, subsequently, the authorities had entered into a direct contract with the proprietor of the ferry, in respect of this service, and that, when this was done, the sum of thirty pounds was deducted from the Postmaster's salary. The Postmaster had received this money to pay for the ferriage, and it would appear to have been his statement, probably brought out in cross-examination, that he had made no payment out of it to the ferryman, which led to the Judge's stricture.

There appears to have been a family of the name of Lloyd at Marl at this time; so possibly Mr. Owen Williams had once more leased Marl and the Conway ferry in conjunction, as he appears to have done at the time of Mr. Bingley's visit.[2]

Mention must here be made of certain changes in the mail coach arrangements, which take place in 1819 and 1820.

In 1815 the mail coach through Shrewsbury was reaching Holyhead at 1 p.m., i.e. in 41 hours from London. Since that time the roads which this coach travelled have been extensively improved, not only through North Wales but across England also; and the route through Oxford has been abandoned in favour of the more direct road through Coventry. At the beginning of 1819 the journey to Holyhead was being accomplished in 38 hours, and in April of this year new contracts are made with the coach proprietors, under which the time is reduced to 36 hours.

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[1] *Times*, 5th December, 1818, and *N.W.G.*, 10th December, 1818.

[2] Pugh, *Cambria Depicta*, p. 95, refers to a Mr. Lloyd of Marl, who was interested in the harp. *History and Antiquities of Aberconwy*, by Robert Williams, 1835, is dedicated to Colonel Lloyd of Marl.

The Liverpool and Manchester mails have now for several years been leaving Chester at 6 p.m. by mail-cart, to meet the London coach at Whitehurst, between Chirk and Llangollen, but on 5th April, 1819, a new Liverpool and Manchester mail coach is placed on the road. This leaves Chester at 6 p.m., and running through Wrexham and Llangollen, is due at Holyhead at the same time as the Shrewsbury coach. Our old Chester mail coach continues to run as before, leaving Chester some time after midnight, but the Holyhead Road Committees take no interest in its times.[1]

There are now three mail coaches and two stage coaches crossing Anglesey daily, each way; but the Chester mail coach is the only one of them, which runs by Conway.[2]

The new Liverpool and Manchester mail coach, however, only runs for twelve months, the Post Office having apparently decided that it cannot bear the expense of the three mail coaches to Holyhead. The old Chester and Holyhead mail coach has hitherto been unable to leave Chester before midnight, because the London to Chester mail coach, which connects with it, cannot reach Chester earlier. In April, 1820, it is arranged that the Holyhead coach is no longer to wait for the London coach. It is now despatched from Chester at 6 p.m., and, running along the coast, carries the Liverpool and Manchester mails. The bye-letters, brought by the London coach, now have to wait at Chester until the next evening. The mail packet now, once more, awaits the arrival of the Chester coach. The new arrangement, however, is not entirely satisfactory. The Chester coach does not reach Holyhead early enough, and the postal arrangements for Liverpool and Manchester and the other northern towns, will not permit of it leaving Chester before 6 p.m.[3]

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[1] Second Report of Select Committee of 1815 and Sixth Report of Select Committee of 1819, and Appendix 2 (Parl. Papers).

[2] *N.W.G.*, Advertisements.

[3] Advertisement of the White Lion Inn, Chester, in *N.W.G.*, 20th April, 1820, and Reports of Committees on Holyhead Roads.

We may note that the *N.W.G.* of 19th June, 1823, publishes a Notice from Chester, stating that the London mail now arrives in time to connect with that for Holyhead, thus avoiding the delay of 24 hours in forwarding its letters.

In June, 1820, the Select Committee, in its Report, stresses "the great importance of the Commercial Correspondence between Ireland and the Northern Counties of England," which the Chester coach carries; and regrets "the present unavoidable Post Office arrangements, which make it necessary that the Chester Mail should pass the ferry at Conway in the middle of the night." The gains from the continued improvements to the Shrewsbury road will be nullified, "unless some means be devised for overcoming the inconvenience of crossing the Conway Ferry" and bringing this coach earlier to Holyhead. The Menai Bridge is now building, and the Committee commends Telford's proposals, for a Suspension Bridge at Conway, as "a great National object," and "peculiarly entitled to the support of Parliament."[1]

The erection of the Bridge at Conway was sanctioned in 1821. The Select Committee had been desirous of effecting improvements on the Chester road, but all applications to this end had been refused by the Treasury; and we are now told that the Treasury, in agreeing to provide funds for the building of the Bridge, had made it a condition that no public money should be spent upon the Chester road. This, presumably, applied to the road east of Conway only.[2]

For the first time, since 1785, we find mention of a stage coach running along the coast, at the close of 1820. The Post Coach "Aurora" makes its appearance in the *North Wales Gazette* advertisements in December of this year. It ran on three days of the week, leaving the Goat Inn, Caernarvon, at 7 a.m., and Jackson's Bangor Ferry at 8.30 a.m., and was due at the White Lion, Chester, at 8 p.m. In June, 1821, a steam packet, the "Cambria," is plying between Liverpool and Bagillt daily, and advertises that passengers can connect at Holywell with the mail coaches for Holyhead, or for Chester, or with the "Aurora" Day Coach.

In 1823 the "Aurora" runs between Holyhead and Chester, and in December, 1824, has apparently been replaced by the new

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[1] First Report of Select Committee on Road from London by Coventry to Holyhead, 1820 (Parl. Papers).

[2] Third Report of Select Committee on the Roads from London to Holyhead, 1822 (Parl. Papers).

The districts through which this road passed were regarded as fairly populous, and in part industrial, and as able to maintain their own roads. A new piece of road two miles in length, up the Rhuallt Hill, just east of St. Asaph, was constructed by Telford, in the early months of 1819 (Sixth Report of Select Committee, 1819, Appendix No. 6) (Parl. Papers). This, however, was the only improvement east of Conway with which the Holyhead Road Commissioners were concerned.

Post Coach "Royal Shamrock," which leaves the Royal Hotel, Holyhead, on three days a week, at 6 a.m., and is due at the Feather's Inn, Chester, at 9 p.m. The traffic to Holyhead by road attains its maximum during the two years 1823 and 1824, and thereafter steadily declines, for a reason which will be mentioned later.

The first stone of the Bridge was laid on 3rd April, 1822. Provis, the resident engineer, tells us that the correct procedure would have been to commence the construction of the embankment from the island end and to have carried it across the eastern portion of the channel and the deep sands, before obstructing the high-water ebb and flow along the eastern shore. The cost of transporting the materials by boat would, however, have been so heavy that it was decided to follow the opposite course and to face the difficulties which must arise through the increased rush of water when the deepest part of the embankment was being made.[1]

Our last tourist comes to the Ferry House, in June, 1824. He writes that "Immediately before us a great work of art was going on," and refers to the many labourers at work wheeling the materials to form the embankment. He is detained at the Ferry House until late in the evening because the boat is on the Conway side, awaiting the up mail.[2]

One is not surprised to find many complaints being addressed to the Commissioners, during the three years that the embankment is under construction. The approaches to the ferry are much obstructed, the navigation of the river is being seriously interfered with, and a road below Conway is being washed away. All the complaints are passed on to Mr. Telford for attention.[3]

The obstruction to its approaches is not the only trouble which the ferry experiences. We are told by the *North Wales Gazette*, on 28th October, 1824, that passengers are "in risk of their lives in crossing two rapid rivers . . . one stream between the island and the main, and a fresh one formed, infinitely more dangerous, between the island and the end of the embankment." By 5th May, 1825, however, these troubles are at an end, and we read that "At present there is no detention whatsoever in crossing the ferry . . . the sands are all avoided and carriages and passengers are regularly ferried over, merely to the island, and then proceed along the embankment, to the great comfort and accommodation of the whole country." This happier state of affairs appears to have continued during the next fourteen months, while the bridge itself was under construction, and its approaches upon the Conway side being completed. The *Gazette*, on 5th June, 1826, makes reference to the many workmen employed in forming the new road through the upper part of the town, and across the old Race Course; and to others, suspended by ropes, cutting away the rock at Penmaen Bach.

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[1] Provis, *Suspension Bridge*, p. 80.

[2] *Sketches in Wales*, G. J. Freeman, 1826, pp. 82–88. The "Old Ferry House" is shown, just upon the north side of the Creuddyn end of the embankment, in the map attached to Hicklin's *Hand-book to Llandudno*, 2nd edition, 1858. It is said to have been in course of demolition in 1900 (*Bye-Gones*, 21st March, 1900). In this latter case it is referred to as "the old Ferry Farm Inn," a name which has not been met with in earlier records. It appears for the most part to have supplied refreshments to parties waiting for the ferry-boat. Pugh, alone, of the writers met with, spent a night at the "Ferry-house," and was very seriously annoyed by an impertinent waitress, who was dissatisfied with his tip. (Pugh, *Cambria Depicta*, p. 22.)

[3] Office of Works, Miscellanea, Nos. 70 and 81.

The Bridge is opened to traffic on Saturday, 1st July, 1826, and travellers are no longer troubled by the Conway ferrymen.[1] The last we hear of these ferrymen is in a petition addressed to the Commissioners, by Hugh Evans and five other ferrymen, praying for compensation for being thrown out of employment. This is referred to Mr. Provis but his report thereon has not been seen.[2]

Reference has been made above to the fact that the traffic by road to Holyhead reached its maximum in the years 1823 and 1824, and subsequently steadily declined. The first Post Office steam packets were placed at Holyhead, in 1821. In 1822 the St. George Steam Packet Company began to run its packets between Liverpool and Dublin. In 1824 the City of Dublin Steam Packet Company followed suit; and already, in 1825, there is a drop in the number of the passengers crossing from Holyhead. The Liverpool merchants now begin to agitate respecting their mails to Ireland. They can themselves embark in the Dublin packets, in the evening, after office hours, and be in Dublin on the following morning. But their letters have to be posted before 3 p.m., and, travelling by Chester and Holyhead, do not reach Dublin until the following afternoon. The Post Office will not send the mails by the privately-owned packets, but eventually yields to the agitation and establishes its own service. Four new mail packets are built, larger and more powerful than the Holyhead packets, and they commence running at the end of August, 1826.[3] Thus the commercial correspondence, the importance of which, according to the

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[1] *N.W.G.*, 6th July, 1826.

[2] Office of Works, Miscellanea, No. 81.

[3] Kennedy, *Steam Navigation*, pt. I, chap. 8; Joyce, *Post Office*, pp. 385–7; Watson, *Royal Mail to Ireland*, p. 124.

Committee of 1820, made the building of a bridge at Conway a great national object, only crosses the bridge for two months, and is then diverted to another route. Conway appears to have got its bridge by a rather narrow margin.

As soon as it was decided that the bridge was to be built, negotiations were opened with Mr. Owen Williams for the purchase of his interests in the ferry.

His agent, Rowland Williams, writes from Beaumaris, on 10th September, 1821, stating that he is "directed by Mr. Williams of Craig y don to inform you that the average annual net produce of the Tolls of Conway Ferry for the last Ten years amount to £237 . 6 . 3, and that he will accept £6,1000 for the purchase of the Ferry clear of all expenses attending the Sale."

It is not until 18th July, 1822, that Milne, the Secretary to the Commissioners, replies, accepting the offer on their behalf.

On 14th February, 1826, Mr. Owen Williams himself writes to Milne, and points out that under the Conway Bridge Act it was laid down that the agreement for the purchase of the ferry must be completed within six months of the passing of the Act. He therefore submits that his earlier offer is null and void, owing to the failure of the Commissioners to accept it within the stipulated time. He does not wish, however, to depart from the principle of his first offer, and only asks that he should continue to receive the same income as that which he has been drawing from the ferry. He now asks that the purchase price should be based upon the average of the net produce of the tolls, during the five years preceding the opening of the bridge; and that he should receive such sum in the 3 p.c. Consols as would yield this income.[1]

We learn from the Minutes of a Meeting of the Commissioners, held on 22nd April, 1826, that Mr. Williams had furnished them with a paper showing that the net annual average of the tolls, for five years up to 5th April, 1826, amounted to £257 12s. 0d. The Commissioners agreed that Mr. Williams' former proposal had become null and void, and they resolved that for the surrender of all his rights and interest in the ferry, he should be paid such sum as would purchase, in the 3 p.c. Consols, an annuity of the above amount.[2]

Nothing appears to have been said during the negotiations respecting the fee farm rent of £6, which covered both Penlassog and the ferry. Mr. Owen Williams pays this rent for 1825, but not subsequently. The rentals, however, show that the Receiver is continuing to claim it, and the arrears, and that correspondence upon the subject is continued over long years.[1]

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[1] The above letters are among "Office of Works Records," at the Office of Works, in a Bundle headed "Shrewsbury and Holyhead Road, 1789–1863."

[2] Office of Works, 6, Miscellanea, Vol. 81, p. 85.

In an Account of the sums received and expended by the Commissioners, published in 1830, we find the item, "For the purchase of the Conway Ferry, £6,315 . 0 . 0." This probably represents the actual amount paid to Mr. Owen Williams.

Another entry in the same Account reads, "For the building of the Conway Bridge and forming an Embankment from the island of Ir Ynys-tuor-y-Castell to the northern shore, £51,239 . 14 . 5." This is the only attempt at naming the little island which has been met with.[2]

The Channel of the River Conway.

We should, perhaps, not pass over, without comment, a statement which has recently been made that prior to 1820, "the main channel of the river Conway kept close to the right bank of the river from Glanconway to Deganwy," and that the embankment "had the effect of diverting the Conway to the left bank."[3] This is quite contrary to all the evidence which has been met with, and one can only assume that it is based upon a misreading of Lewis Morris's "Plan of the Bay and Harbour of Conway," a reproduction of which is, apparently, printed in support of it.

Ogilby's Chart of 1675, that of Fearon and Eyes of 1737, and that of Lewis Morris of 1748, while showing considerable differences in the sands, all agree in showing the channel as between the Castle and the island and, in varying widths, immediately to the eastward of the island also. In Lewis Morris's plan only a very narrow portion of the channel passes round the east side of the island.[4]

Davies Griffith, in 1802, describes the channel on the east side of the island as the most important, and says that it was the channel most generally used by vessels on account of the squalls and baffling winds near the Castle. All other evidence met with would suggest that while the eastward channel varied considerably, owing to the shifting sands, the channel next to the Castle never altered; but Davies Griffith makes it clear that this was not always so. Referring to the changes occasioned by these sands he writes, "The author of these pages has frequently witnessed these changes, and has, at different periods during his life, reached the island dryshod from either shore."[1] We may, however, fairly conclude that the closing of the low-water channel between the Castle and the island must have been a rare occurrence.

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[1] L.R. 2, 319, and L.R.R.O. 12, 120.

[2] Parl. Papers, 1830, X. Report of Select Committee on the Holyhead and Liverpool Roads, Appendix No. 1.

[3] Lowe, *Northern Wales*, Vol. I, pp. 246 and 250.

[4] Ogilby, *Britannia*; Fearon and Eyes; Morris, *Harbours*.

Telford, in 1811, found "16 feet left in the Channel next Conway at low water and nearly the same on the eastern side of the rocky island"; and we may record, in conclusion, that Provis describes the position when the construction of the embankment and the Bridge was commenced, as follows: "In the tideway opposite the castle, and about a hundred yards distant, is an insulated rock, and between these, a deep and rapid current. On the eastern side of this little island is a mass of sand banks nearly half a mile wide, wholly covered by the sea at high water, but dry with the exception of a narrow channel when the tide is out."[2]

2. THE TAL-Y-CAFN FERRY, 1712–1897

We have seen that the Tal-y-cafn ferry, after being held in association with the Conway ferry for over 250 years, became a separate holding, about 1686, and that the holder's name, at this date and in 1712, was Robert Williams.

In 1736 a certain Thomas Pierson figures in the accounts as the tenant of the ferry and, in one of the years following 1740, is succeeded by Anna Pierson, widow. In 1771, Anna Pierson's name is erased and that of Lord Bulkeley substituted.[3] Nothing has been learned about the Piersons, but the fee-farm of Tal-y-cafn appears to have definitely passed into Lord Bulkeley's possession. His name appears as the tenant, in a series of accounts, and in one covering the year 1822 we find the words "Exors of" inserted above the line.[4]

The name Sir R. Williams Bulkeley, Bart., appears in 1829, and figures up to 1836; but from this date, until 1844, the rent is shown as paid by Thomas Williams, Esq.—Thomas Piers Williams, Esq., in the last two years. [4 & 5] We may, perhaps, assume that the premises were leased to Thomas Piers Williams during this period. From 1844 to 1860, Sir R. B. Williams Bulkeley is the crown tenant, and in the latter years we find the note, "Sold from October 1859."[1] The crown interest in the ferry now ceases, and Tal-y-cafn disappears from the accounts.

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[1] Griffith, *Impartial Thoughts*, pp. 17–19.

[2] Report from Committee on Holyhead Roads, 1811, App. 2 (Parl. Papers); Provis, *Suspension Bridges*, p. 79.

[3] L.R. 2/318. A rental for 1736, in which changes in the names of the tenants are subsequently noted from time to time. A tear has obliterated part of the date when Thomas Pierson is displaced by Anna.

[4] L.R. 2/322 (1781–1812). L.R. 2/319 (1820–1831).

[5] L.R.R.O. 12/120 (1832–1844).

A Land Revenue Record shows that Sir R. B. Williams-Bulkeley purchased and extinguished, as from 10th October, 1859, the fee farm rents of "Talycavn Ferry," of the premises in "Erianus" rented at £8 per annum, and of land called "Corneigie," rented at one shilling and fourpence. The consideration paid was £242.[2]

We are told in 1770 that "Such as travel from Chester to Holyhead sometimes go by a place called Bwlch-y-ddaufaen, thereby avoiding Conway and Penmaenmawr."[3] Davies Griffith states, in 1802, that this road had been followed from time immemorial, and adds that it was the only road which was "always open," prior to the construction of the Sylvester road.[4] We may take it that the shortcomings of the Conway ferry were no less, in earlier days, than they were at the commencement of the nineteenth century, and that, in times when all travelling was done on horseback, the route by Tal-y-cafn and Bwlch-y-ddeufaen would have much to recommend it. It seems reasonable then to conclude that this route had been followed by many travellers in the days before turnpike roads made their appearance in North Wales. It is probable, however, that its use was largely confined to people who knew the country. The night's lodging, and the facilities for posting, were of the first importance for strangers, and such evidence as is available appears to show that the through travellers, to and from Ireland, kept for the most part to the post road.

Unfortunately but few of those who passed by the Tal-y-cafn ferry have left any records of their passage, and these few rarely give the ferry more than a bare mention. Pennant (1773–6) goes so far as to say that "he passed the river in the good ferry at Tal y Cafn"[5]; and we find Cathrall writing, half a century later, "Here's a good ferry over the Conway called Tal y Cavn."[6] These remarks, perhaps, afford an explanation of the almost universal omission on the part of travellers, or tourists, to make any comment on the Tal-y-cafn ferry. They had no fault to find with it. We may quote Fenton as a sample of the references to be met with. After waiting two hours in vain hoping to cross at Conway, he was obliged "to go all round to Tal y Cafn; and then through a most tempestuous night over Bwlch y Ddwyfaen to Aber."[1]

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[1] L.R.R.O. 12/133–149 (1845–1860).

[2] L.R.R.O. 16/207 (Land Revenue Records, 1st June, 1860, No. 777).

[3] *Letters from Snowdon*, 1770, p. 36.

[4] Griffith, *Impartial Thoughts*, p. 55.

[5] *Tours,* Vol. III, p. 130.

[6] Cathrall, *North Wales*, Vol. II, p. 161.

There are, however, two references to the Tal-y-cafn ferry, which call for notice. The author of a *Tour*, published in 1797, comes down the Conway valley, and after passing Caerhun, states, "At this part of the river called Tal y Cafn, is a flat ferry conveyance from one shore to the other."[2] Again, in 1830, we find John Williams, of Llanrwst, writing, "At Tal y Cafn, there is a Ferry having a strong Iron chain crossing the river."[3] It is thus clear that the Tal-y-cafn ferry was a chain ferry in 1830, and the earlier quotation seems to indicate that it was a ferry of this type before the end of the eighteenth century.

When we come to the middle of the eighteenth century we find the road from Denbigh by Llansannan to Tal-y-cafn shown in the maps of 1744 and 1753, referred to above, and we take this to have been the road turnpiked in 1759. The Caernarvonshire Trust makes Tal-y-cafn the eastern end of its long line in 1769, and turnpikes the road from Tal-y-cafn down to Sarn-y-Mynach in 1777.[4] All this concern with the roads leading to Tal-y-cafn ferry may fairly be taken as evidence that a considerable wheeled traffic passed this way at this period.

We further find Davies Griffith opposing Rennie's proposed bridge at Conway, and advocating an alternative scheme, for a line of road from St. Asaph by Bettws yn Rhos to a bridge near Tal-y-cafn, and thence over Bwlch-y-ddeufaen to Aber, and writing, "I recollect well public coaches travelling along this road as far as Tal y cafn, from whence they proceeded to Conway."[5] He does not tell us when these coaches had run, or why they ceased to do so, but he supplies us with additional evidence of the traffic by Tal-y-cafn, about this period. To what extent the Tal-y-cafn ferry would have been prejudiced by the deflection of the traffic to the Shrewsbury Pentre Voelas and Llanrwst road, after 1777, cannot be said; but this may perhaps have been the cause for the discontinuance of these coaches.

In 1855 small river steamers were plying in the summer months between Conway and Trefriw, passing Tal-y-cafn on their way.[1] In 1868 the railway is open to Bettws-y-coed, and there is now a station at Tal-y-cafn.[2] Henceforward the Guide Books inform tourists that by leaving the train at Tal-y-cafn, and crossing the ferry, they may visit Caerhun; and we read, in 1884, that on the Caernarvonshire side, "there is a small public house kept by the ferryman," and that "the charge is 1d per head for transfer across the river."[3]

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[1] *Arch. Camb. Suppt.*, 1917, p. 245.

[2] *A Collection of Welsh Tours*, London. Printed for G. Sael, 1797. The reference to Tal-y-cafn is in a "Tour of Caernarvonshire and Anglesea."

[3] Williams, *Faunula*, p. 34.

[4] V.p. 205.

[5] Griffith, *Impartial Thoughts*, p. 54.

The Tal-y-cafn ferry was still, at this date, in the possession of the Baron Hill family; but, in 1889, Sir R. H. Williams-Bulkeley and the Trustees of the Estate sold the ferry, together with other properties in the vicinity, to Mr. Richard Hemming, of Bentley Manor, Worcester. Mr. Hemming was the father of the late Mrs. Gough, of Caerhun, to whom his lands and hereditaments, in North Wales, passed in 1892.

A schedule attached to the Conveyance, of 1889, shows the ferry as in the occupation of David Roberts, as yearly tenant; and as let together with the "Tal y Cafn Ferry Inn and Garden," the "Cob and Landing Stage, and sundry other cobs, crofts, and small fields, among which latter we note "Cae Bryn Castell."[4]

We found our first mention of the Tal-y-cafn ferry, in the Accounts of the early fourteenth century, under the title of the "passage of La Taverne." Whether this should be taken as indicating the existence of an inn, near the point of crossing, at that time, or not, it is perhaps probable that there would be an inn near the ferry, from fairly early days. We have not, however, found any mention of a ferry-house, in any grant, or lease, of the ferry, by the Crown; and we must assume that the association of Ferry and Inn, in one letting, was of relatively recent date; subsequent, at all events, to the passing of the ferry into the hands of John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, under the grant in perpetuity of 1627.

A resident in the locality, who frequently crossed the ferry during its later years, states that the large flat ferry-boat, which the ferryman, David Roberts, used to wind across by means of a chain passing round a winch, was awkward to handle on the ebb tide, when the river was in flood. The stream carried it down to the extreme limit of the chain's scope, and there was difficulty in working it up again to its landing place upon the opposite shore. There were also considerable difficulties in embarking and landing vehicles, when the level of the water was low. Horses, carts, gigs, and pony-traps were, however, regularly ferried over, on the large boat, but foot passengers were ordinarily taken across in a small rowing boat.

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[1] Parry *Llandudno.*

[2] Black's *Picturesque Guide to North Wales,* 1868.

[3] *Thorough Guide Series. North Wales, Part I,* Baddeley and Ward, 1884.

[4] Particulars of Conveyance and Copy of Schedule, kindly supplied by Sir R. H. Williams-Bulkeley, Bart., K.C.B.

In 1893, Griffith Griffith, of Llican Isaf, Tyn-y-groes, with two others, formed a company, and in the following year promoted a Bill in Parliament, for the construction of a bridge at Tal-y-cafn; and the "Talycafn Bridge Act" received the Royal Assent on 20th July, 1894. The company acquired the rights of ferry, and the bridge was built but a few yards to the eastward of the ferry crossing. The bridge was opened on Saturday, 9th October, 1897, the old ferry-boat being tied up to the bridge, and cast adrift, as part of the ceremony.[1]

No kind things were said about the ferry upon this occasion. Dr. Arthur Prichard, then Mayor of Conway, who declared the bridge open, and whose practice had frequently taken him across the ferry, said that the lessee of the ferry was sometimes crusty at night, if called upon to get out of bed. He mentioned an instance when at midnight he had required to visit a patient on the opposite side of the river, but was unable to get across. Griffith Griffith had a similar story, how, when returning home from Denbighshire one night, he found himself unable to cross the ferry and had to go down to Conway by train and return home by the mail cart in the morning.

We have now to do with a generation which knew not the Conway ferry, and the old Tal-y-cafn ferry had, apparently, outstayed its welcome.

The Tal-y-cafn Bridge Company was not financially successful. It passed into the hands of mortgagees, from whom it was eventually purchased by the Caernarvonshire and Denbighshire County Councils, who removed the toll-gate and made it a free bridge on 4th December, 1929.[2]

3. THE BEAUMARIS FERRY, 1721–1830

After 1721 the Books of the Beaumaris Corporation provide us with no further information respecting the ferry, for fifty years, and we have to look elsewhere.

The travellers of the year 1748, whom we met with at Conway, though they did not themselves proceed by Beaumaris, nevertheless make statements worth noting.

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[1] Talycafn Bridge Act (57 and 58 Victoria, Ch. xciv). The Act exempts soldiers, police, post office officials and customs officers, on duty, from payment of tolls, an exemption from which, one is inclined to assume, the ferry had been free to the last. See also *N.W.C.*, 16th October, 1897.

[2] *Liverpool Post and Mercury*, 5th December, 1929.

The two English Gentlemen proceeded on the following day to Bangor. After passing over Penmaen Mawr, their guide led them along "the Sea Strand," and told them tales of the many people who had perished, with their horses, through seeking to cross the sands without guides. They state that the guides "have all Tide Tables for that Purpose."[1]

George Wood, whom we found riding in haste to Holyhead, gained nothing by his speed. He found Holyhead crowded with travellers, and provisions growing scarce, and was himself detained there by stormy weather for some days; and, while still stranded there, he writes that, "New passengers are coming in every day from Chester and Beaumaris."[2]

Road Books continue to show Ogilby's road across the sands until nearly the end of the eighteenth century, but in one of them we find the note, in 1767, "Very few travellers cross these Sands to Beaumaris. The Road from Aberconway is . . . to Bangor . . . then to Llangavenny."[3] Beaumaris, it would thus appear, was still patronised by a certain number of the travellers to Holyhead, up to the middle of the eighteenth century, or even later.

We find frequent references to the many people who had lost their lives in crossing the sands. We have, however, only met with two definite instances.

William Bulkeley, of Brynddu, makes the following entry in his diary,[4] under the date 15th April, 1753: "A Scotsman being drowned on Lavan Sands last winter by the ferryman refusing or neglecting to go for him two of the said ferrymen the morrow went in quest of the corps tore out his pockets stole his money and afterwards finding his box and pack carryed them also away and hid them in the Point undergravel and tang which some of the townspeople observing four of them 2 sailors and 2 shipwrights went there in the night took them up and shared them amongst them."

The matter having been brought to the notice of the Judges of the Circuit, and the Borough Justices having apparently taken no action, Mr. William Bulkeley and another County Justice are requested by the Judges to hold an inquiry; but there is no further reference to the subject in the diary.

Regarding the second instance, we have no more than an entry, in the Beaumaris Accounts, for 1788, respecting an

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[1] *A Tour through Ireland, In several Entertaining Letters.* By Two English Gentlemen, London, 1748.

[2] *Bye-Gones*, 21st August, 1901, p. 167.

[3] Kitchin, *Post-Chaise Companion*, London, 1767.

[4] U.C.N.W. MSS.

"Inquisition on the Body of William Jones who was drowned on Lavan Sands."

Lord Lyttelton rode over the sands to Penmaen Mawr, in July, 1756, but found nothing to say about them, or the ferry.[1]

Wyndham traversed them in the summer of 1774, and writes, "We crossed the Menai ferry at Beaumaris, and a four mile ride over the sands at low water, where the true path was sufficiently pointed out by posts at proper distances, carried us to the Irish turnpike at Llanâber." He remarks that the sands are so level "that they are in a manner instantaneously overflowen when the flood comes in," and that inattention to the tides "has been fatal to many."[2] We shall find the Corporation having these guide-posts renewed, from time to time, but cannot state when they first erected them.

Pennant, writing about the same time as Wyndham, makes the statement that Aber is "the point the passenger generally makes for."[3] Prior to the construction of the turnpike road travellers along the coast had probably taken to the sands at the earliest opportunity; but henceforward Aber is almost invariably named as the starting point for the crossing to the ferry. We must not, however, forget the old road over Bwlch-y-ddeufaen, travellers by which had doubtless been starting across the sands from Aber through the centuries.

On 20th November, 1772, we come to the following entry in the Minute Book: "Ordered To prepare a Lease for Thomas Tyrer of Lavan fferry for the Term of Seven Years from Michmas last if he lives so long at the Annual Rent of Ten Pounds. He to Hazard and run all risque of the Boats being lost or Cast away and to provide others in their stead if it shall so happen and also to repair the boats and to deliver them up, Together with Cables and Anchors etc. at the end of the term in [good ?] condition."

On 5th October, 1778, we have the last entry, concerning the ferry, in the old Minute Book: "Ordered That Thomas Tyrer do Immediately set up as many Poles as is necessary from Beaumaris to Aber for the safe Guidance of Passengers over Lavan Sands." This, in view of Wyndham's reference to the poles, in 1774, we may take to be an order for the replacement of missing poles.

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[1] Lyttleton, *Account*.

[2] The *Gentleman's Tour* is by Wyndham. It was first published, under the above title, anonymously, in 1775. An enlarged and illustrated, second edition, under the title *A Tour through Monmouthshire and Wales*, was published in London, in 1781, and bears the name of the author—Henry Penruddocke Wyndham.

[3] Pennant, *Tours*, Vol. III, p. 30.

Thomas Tyrer's lease would terminate in 1779. We find no reference to its renewal, but we have an Account Book to help us, after this date, and we find that he is paid 17s. for "Faggots to put on the Sands" in 1785, and is apparently still the ferryman.

The Hon. John Byng crossed the sands on his way to Conway, in July, 1784. He and his friend had made the acquaintance of a "Welsh Squire" at Beaumaris, who offered to guide them across. They had assumed that the sands were dry, at low water, to Beaumaris, and "were disconcerted at hearing that there was another ferry to cross; and if inconveniences were great before (i.e. at Bangor ferry), here they were much worse: for when the boat came over and disembogued it's cargo, consisting of 30 people and 15 horses, ours were with much difficulty forc'd in; as the water was deep, and they had a board to creep upon into it.... The sands are the finest I ever saw, and we felt happy in riding 4 miles across them to near our friendly guide's house at the village of Aber.... On the sands we met the newly created British Viscount, Ld. Bulkeley, returning to his family seat; and soon after heard the guns wellcoming his arrival."[1] John Byng would surely have mentioned the fact if Lord Bulkeley had been riding in his coach.

Thomas Tyrer would appear to have allowed the boats to fall into bad condition. On 28th November, 1785, we find the following entry in the Minute Book: "Ordered that the Ferry be let to Mr. Robert Allen for one year from the 12th November last at the clear Rent of Fifteen pounds and that the Boats be put in repair at the Expense of the Corporation."

Mr. Robert Allen, according to one of Richard Llwyd's footnotes,[2] resided near Craig-y-Parc, up above the Point, and was thus probably in a position to keep an eye upon the ferry. He put in one John Evans as ferryman, and the accounts for 1786 show that nearly £26 was spent upon repairs of the boats.

In November, 1786, John Evans is himself given a three years' lease, at a rent of £25, the highest on record. He is to provide all equipment, and to hand over the boats in good and sufficient repair, at the end of his term. The next year's accounts show that, in addition to further small repairs to the old ferry-boat, a new boat had been provided at a cost of £30, so that John Evans appears to have been given a good start. We also, during 1787, find a payment to Mr. Allen of £6, for "Faggots for the sands" and that John Evans is paid £21 7s. 0d.

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[1] *Torrington Diaries*, Vol. I, p. 167.

[2] Llwyd, *Beaumaris* Bay (Chester, 1800), p. 20.

"for carrying Stones and Faggots to the Sands." The total expenditure, during the two years, 1786 and 1787, amounts to approximately £84, as against £40 received in rents.

In 1789, Lord Bulkeley takes a three years' lease, on the same conditions as that to John Evans, but at the reduced rent of £21. Thomas Tyrer now once more becomes the ferryman. The Corporation pays a little over £10 in repairs and renewals to the boats, in 1790, and in 1791, Thomas Tyrer receives £7 7s. 0d. in part payment "for making good an Embankment in Llack Mawr on Lavan Sands."

In 1792, Thomas Tyrer once more becomes tenant of the ferry, on a five years' lease, at a rent of £15; and is this time made to execute a bond "for the due performance of his agreement." In 1793 he is paid £7 13s. 0d., which is the balance of £15 which it had been agreed to pay him "for making good and passable Llack Mawr." No payments are made for repairs to the boats during these five years, but in 1797 the large ferry-boat has ceased to be serviceable, and the ferry is without a large boat for several months. Whether this meant that only foot passengers could be transported during this period one cannot say. Tyrer is not, apparently, held responsible for the condition of the large boat. He is allowed £4 10s. 0d. off his last year's rent, towards the loss sustained by him on this account.

No further mention of the Llack Mawr has been met with, but one is inclined to assume that the expenditures upon faggots and stones for the sands, in 1785 and 1787, concerned this embankment in the Llack Mawr.

In 1797, Lord Bulkeley is given a twenty-one years' lease of the ferry, at a rent of £13, undertaking at his own charge to provide a new large boat and all equipment, and to maintain the boats in good repair throughout his term "the loss of the same boats or of either of them by tempestuous weather unavoidably happening only excepted."[1]

We meet with no further expenditures upon repairs and renewals during the following years, but Lord Bulkeley does not appear to have found his tenancy of the ferry remunerative. On 24th September, 1810, we find the following order in the Minute Book: "That the Bailiffs do give directions for the immediate Building of a serviceable 4 oared Boat, to be provided at the expense of the Corporation for the Conveyance of Foot passengers across the Point Ferry. . . . The same when finished to be presented to Lord Bulkeley the Tenant of the Ferry as a small acknowledgment for the great and continual Expense his Lordship is put into in building and keeping in repair the Ferry Boats and other expenses incident to the same." This boat was to be "from Stem to Stern Sixteen feet at the least," and "of the breadth of Six feet and four inches" ; and Wm. Jones, the ship carpenter, is paid £16 10s. 0d. for building her.

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[1] John Williams, of Beaumaris (in the Kinmel MSS., No. 31, N.L.W.) states that he was allowed to inspect a Catalogue of Deeds in Lord Bulkeley's possession, and in it found an entry of this lease, according to which the new boat, which Lord Bulkeley was to build, was to be "26 ft. Keel." If this was so, there must have been a great reduction in the size of the big boat since the time of Byng's crossing, thirteen years earlier.

We hear no more of Thomas Tyrer after 1798. He appears to have been succeeded as ferryman, about this time, by William Tyrer, probably his son.

We find, in 1792, that there is an inn at Aber which is "much frequented in the summer time" ;[1] and are told a few years later that this inn is "useful to those who may have occasion to wait for the sands of Moni, which at low water may be traversed to a small ferry near Beaumaris."[2]

John Evans, in 1798, warns his readers against the dangers which may beset those who cross the sands, adding that, "As many are under the necessity of adventuring, a wise and humane precaution has been adopted; the large bell of Aber is rung constantly during foggy weather to direct those coming from the island."[3]

About this same time, Richard Llwyd makes reference to the passage of the sands, and writes, "The landing place in Anglesey is the point antiently called Penrhyn Safnes, and afterwards Osmund's Air, from a malefactor of that name, who, on his way to the fatal tree, said he was going to take the air."[4] Henceforward, the large bell of Aber, and the story of Osmund on his way to take the air, figure in most references to the Beaumaris ferry.

Pugh, in one of the early years of last century, "crossed the Lafan Sands in the country fashion, barefooted, and keeping in view the white house opposite, for four miles." He found "a group of fishwomen" asleep, awaiting the ferryboat, which presently came and took them all over. Pugh furnishes us with Osmund's remarks in greater detail, and then refers to the Tyrers, as "a family who have long held the ferry," and who are "much to their credit, extremely careful of the passengers across the sands." He adds that the sands should not be attempted towards night, or when the winds are high; but that no accident has ever happened to those who cross at the proper time.[1]

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[1] Owen, *Caernarvonshire*, p. 26.

[2] Baker, *Guide*, p. 10.

[3] Evans, *Tour*, p. 24.

[4] Llwyd, *Beaumaris Bay*, p. 43.

The white house, which Pugh kept in view during his four-mile, was doubtless the ferry-house. This stood far back, at the very base of the point. It is marked on John Evans's map (published in 1795), but we have no record of its building. It may have been an inn, which catered for Anglesey people waiting for the tide to ebb, but none of our travellers, to or from Beaumaris, ever refer to it, and there is no mention of it in the Corporation Books. One is inclined to assume that it was Lord Bulkeley's property, and that the Tyrers, who always became the ferrymen when Lord Bulkeley leased the ferry, were his tenants there.[2]

Though himself the tenant of the Beaumaris ferry and incurring considerable expense upon its maintenance, Lord Bulkeley, during the years 1804–5, constructs his new road along the banks of the Straits, to the Porthaethwy ferry.[3] There was an earlier road which ran along the shore from Porthaethwy to Cadnant, and crossed the river a little higher up than the present bridge, and then climbed the steep hill-side to connect with the existing upper road running along the ridge to Llyn-y-Parc. Here it joined the road which left the Porthaethwy to Pentraeth road at Pedair Groeslon, and came past Llandegfan Church. John Evans's map shows these two roads uniting and leading down the steep hill (Yr Allt Goch Bach), past the site of the present cemetery, to Beaumaris, but it does not show the length of road which now leads on from near Llyn-y-Parc to the top of Red Hill (Yr Allt Goch Fawr). According to John Williams this length of road was made by Lord Bulkeley, "to enable Lord Uxbridge to visit him without venturing down Rallt Coch bach."[4] The date at which it was made has not, however, been ascertained.

One may perhaps conclude that in earlier days the road from from Beaumaris to Porthaethwy led up "Yr Allt Goch Bach," but that, after the establishment of the connection between the top of Red Hill and Llyn-y-Parc, carriages at least had followed this latter route. We may question whether wheeled vehicles patronised the steep hill at Cadnant, and may probably assume that, prior to the opening of Lord Bulkeley's lower road, the carriage road to Porthaethwy was by Llandegfan Church and Pedair Groeslon.

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[1] Pugh, *Cambria Depicta*, p. 30. Pugh died in 1813 and is stated to have spent ten years on this work.

[2] The Ferry House also figures in the Ordnance Survey of 1818–23 and 1841. Its ruins have alowly disappeared during the past sixty years, but a portion of one corner still forms part of the wall which runs along the north side of the road.

[3] The date is given on the inscription upon the house above the Garth ferry (v.p. 284).

[4] 2 Kinmel MSS., No. 31 (N.L.W.).

The new road was doubtless of the first importance to Beaumaris, now in the early stages of its development as a resort for summer visitors. It provided convenient access to the great "Bangor Ferry," where the boats were crossing constantly and vehicles were regularly transported, and where posting facilities were available upon both sides ; and it brought Beaumaris into easy connection with the mail and stage coaches passing along the great road.

It must not be thought, however, that the establishment of more convenient access to the Porthaethwy ferry indicated any disposition on the part of Beaumaris folk to abandon their own. We shall find that they are now, and throughout the ensuing years, involved in a new and somewhat serious expenditure in connection with it. They welcome the erection of the Menai Bridge but they continue to meet this expenditure, even after the Bridge is opened. They value their ferry, not as a source of revenue but as one of the approaches to the town, and they maintain it until it is beyond question that the game is no longer worth the candle.

The new expenditure concerns the Point itself.

In 1799 many boat loads of stone and cartloads of faggots were taken to the Point "to make the Embankment near the Ferry" ; and £15 18s. 6d. is spent on the work.

In 1804, besides the quarrying and transporting of stone, we find men employed "cutting Briars in the Town fields and fixing the same in the Gravel at the Point to form an Embankment there." The expenditure amounts to £7 13s. 0d.

In 1805 the Minute Book states that £10 is to be "laid out towards forming an Embankment at the Point to prevent further incroachments of the Sea and render more commodious and safe the landing place there."

In 1806 we have an expenditure of £14 18s. 6d., and learn that the faggots are "laid down in the Gravel as foundation of the Embankment." There are similar expenditures in 1807, 9, 10, 12, 14, and 18.

In 1819 a sum of £11 5s. 1½d. includes "Quarrying 41½ tons of Stone to strengthen the Point," and placing "Faggots to strengthen the Point."

After further payments in 1820 and 1824, we find, in 1825, an expenditure of £27 4s. 6d. under the heading " Point Quays etc. Repairs." This comprises quarrying, carting, and setting stones and also "cutting faggots and cartage for strengthening and preserving the Point."

In 1828, under the heading "Repairs of the Point," we have an expenditure of £15 14s. od., one of the items being "pd. for work at Quay £8 4s. od." Finally, in 1829, we find the entry "Repairs of Point Quay £1 2s. 6d."

These expenditures have been dealt with in some detail, on account of a statement which appears among John Williams' notes, namely, "Piers were made at both sides of the ferry at considerable cost, traces of which remain to this day."[1] From its position in the notes this remark would seem to apply to the early days of the Point ferry. In this case we can only say that there is no mention of any such expenditure, in the early accounts, still extant; and that John Byng's account of the embarking of his horse, in 1784, seems to disprove the existence of any pier at that date. It is also hardly conceivable that any pier should ever have been erected at the low-water mark, either at the edge of the sands or at the shelving extremity of the Point, having regard to the narrowness of the navigable channel at this spot.

We may note that the Minute Book, in September, 1821, records on order, "That a landing Quay be constructed . . . at the Green, for the accommodation of persons landing from small Boats," and that during the following years the repairs of this quay, and of the perch at its outer end, are in evidence in the Accounts. We have Accounts from 1779 onwards, but find no mention of any such quay in connection with the ferry, unless the expenditures detailed above are so interpreted.

In this connection it may be observed that the word "quay" is still being used, as in earlier days, as indicating a protective work. In 1829 we have a payment "for making a Quay to protect the Cart Road to the Beach at Town's End." Again, in 1850, we have a payment on account "for building a new Quay from Pendre bach to the Green opposite the Greenwich" ; but, when the final payment is made, in 1832, it is for "making a New Sea Wall at the Green."

A visit to the Point, at the present day, reveals three lines of stones running down its face, not near the low-water mark but about the half-tide level, where the gravel which constitutes the upper portion of the Point ends. The eastermost of these lines consists, at the present time, of no more than very large and more or less isolated stones.[1] The other two, further to the westward, still form definite ridges. One is inclined to conclude that the gravel was being washed away very rapidly during the early years of last century, and that in these lines of stone we have what remains of the efforts then made for preserving and strengthening the Point, and preventing further encroachments of the sea.

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[1] Kinmel MSS., No. 31 (N.L.W.).

Apart from the work at the Point, and the boat presented to Lord Bulkeley, in 1810, the only expenditure incurred by the Corporation in connection with the ferry, during Lord Bulkeley's term and for several years subsequently, is in respect of the guide posts on the sands. In 1812, Robert Thomas is paid £3 "for Poles set upon Lavan Sands for the Guidance of Travellers"; and William Tyrer is paid £1 "for fixing the same." Tyrer gets another payment for similar work in 1820 and, finally, we have a payment of 15s. 6d. in 1824 to "John Hughes and others for fixing the Poles on the Lavan Sands." It is certain that these poles must have been well secured to stones sunk in the sand, as otherwise they would have floated away at high water; but we never meet with any reference to stones in this connection and must assume that the fixing covered the provision of the requisite stones, unless the earlier ones were still available.

Despite the guide posts, people appear to have occasionally lost their way. We are told, in the *North Wales Gazette* of 4th November, 1824, of four itinerant singers who had attempted to cross the sands, and were seen opposite the town by Mr. Hall, the architect, "in the greatest distress, nearly up to their waists and the tide flowing." We learn, however, that "Mr. Critchley promptly went to their rescue."

Lord Bulkeley's lease would expire in 1818. We have no record of any later leases but the rent continues at £13 up to 1824, and William Tyrer appears to have been the tenant. From Michaelmas, 1824, Richard Jones holds the ferry at a rent of £15, which he duly pays, up to Michaelmas, 1826, eight months after the opening of the Menai Bridge. He continues to hold the ferry but fails to pay any rent in 1827, or 1828, and we learn from the 1829 Accounts that his unpaid arrears have been remitted.

The Accounts for 1829 give us the results of the year's working of the ferry as follows: -

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[1] It seems probable that the large stones upon the mud flats to the south-west of the Point, which were presumably placed there to prevent illicit dredging of the oysters dumped there, by the so-called "Jersey Boats," during the seventies and eighties of last century, were taken from this source.

Pd. Richard Jones attending Ferry 13th November, 1828 to 29th May, 1829.	£24 15 0		
Received Tolls.	£7 13 6	Loss	£17 1 6
Pd. John Clough attending Ferry 4th June to 16th November, 1829.	£21 8 0		
Received Tolls.	£11 10 10	Loss	£9 17 2
Pd. for Repairs of Boats, Cordage, etc.			£5 14 4
Loss on the year's working			£32 13 0

Among the Minutes of the Anniversary Meeting, held on 5th October, 1829, we find the following :—

> "It appearing that the Tolls arising from the Ferry to the Lavan Sands have of late been insufficient to pay the Expenses of working it, and that it would be to the benefit of the Corporation to surrender the same into the hands of the Crown, if it can be effected without prejudice to the other Chartered Rights of the Corporation.
>
> It is ordered That the Town Clerk do state a Case for the opinion of an eminent Lawyer upon that Point, for the better information of the Corporation."

The Minute Book does not carry the story further, but in the *North Wales Chronicle* of 31st December, 1829, we find the following notice :

> "*Point Ferry near Beaumaris. Notice*
>
> That the Passage of the Water and Ferry from the Point, across the River Menai to the Lavan Sands, will be discontinued after the first day of February, 1830, and the Ferry ceased to be worked from that day.
>
> Per Order J. Jones
> Town Clerk of Beaumaris."

The Accounts for 1830, in addition to the "Town Clerks Law Bill relating to Point Ferry £4 3s. od.," show that £6 17s. od. was paid for attending the ferry, from 21st November, 1829, up to 18th February, 1830, and that £1 6s. od. was spent in repairs to the boat. There is no mention of any receipt from tolls, and as the remuneration of the unnamed ferryman is at a lower rate than during the preceding year, we may perhaps conclude that he was allowed to retain whatever he received from passengers.

A boat is sold for 30s. in 1831, which may have been the last of the ferry-boats; otherwise we hear no more of the Point ferry. References are sometimes met with, in later years, to a ferry between the Green and the sands, but they signify no more than that boatmen ferried people across. The Corporation no longer maintained any ferry.

The Corporation has been paying a good deal of attention to its port of late years: to the buoys, and to the perch in the Sound. So early as 1809 they have begun to discuss the question of a lighthouse, and, in 1812, Lord Bulkeley presents them with a lifeboat, which is moored below the Green. But their main interest is now centred in the visitors. Already, in 1805, we find them levelling the Corporation ground in "Clay Pits" and building dwelling houses there. The Beaumaris, "furnished with good Entertainment for Passengers in their way to and from Holyhead," of 1675, is referred to, in 1813, as "much frequented during the summer months by numerous genteel families."[1] But the boom for Beaumaris, as for the district generally, comes after 1822, when the Liverpool steamers begin running to Bangor Ferry, calling off Beaumaris and Garth on their way and bringing people from Liverpool in six hours, in ease and comfort, the weather being fine, against the tiring journey by road, hardly to be accomplished without spending a night on the way.[2]

As the first outcome of the arrival of the steamers we find Beaumaris figuring once more as on the road to Ireland. The enterprising innkeeper and coach proprietor, Mr. Thomas Spencer, of Holyhead, runs coaches, in 1823, to catch the Liverpool steamer at Beaumaris, in the morning, and to bring passengers by the steamer, on to Holyhead, in the afternoon; and he advertises a new route from London and the North of England to Dublin, "by way of Liverpool to Beaumaris and thence to Spencer's Royal Hotel, Holyhead." He has much to say as to the advantages of this route as compared with the direct steamer route to Dublin, on the one hand, and that by the turnpike roads, on the other; but the new route does not appear to have attracted much patronage, and we hear no more of it in the following years.[3]

Following the advent of the steamers, the Corporation, however, embarked upon developments of a more enduring character. We find them, in 1823, investigating the extent of their estate, outside the town walls, upon the Green ; and being advised that it includes all that lies upon "the South West side of the covered Drain or Watercourse from the Castle Mote to the Sea Shore." They now commence building houses on the Green, and also a Billiard Room and Public News Room ; and the item in their Accounts, headed "Rents of Houses and Lands," rises from £102 14s. 0d. in 1824 to £354 14s. 0d. in 1828. They take shares in the "Baths," level and sow the Green, and extend the Green Quay ; and, in 1830, we for the first time meet with the entry, "Paid Subscription to the Regatta £10 10s. 0d."

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[1] Nicholson, *Guide*, 2nd edition, 1813.

[2] *N.W.G.*, Advertisements.

[3] *N.W.G.*, 27th March and 24th April, 1823.

They were too busily and profitably occupied to mourn the passing of the old ferry.

Before closing our account of the Beaumaris ferry, the question of the extent to which vehicles were here transported should perhaps be briefly reviewed.

In 1686 the Beaumaris ferry seems clearly to have been the only one by which a coach could cross the Straits. But, apart from Lord Clarendon's Letters, we have failed to find any mention of a vehicle crossing here. Such evidence as is available appears to indicate that few travellers across North Wales travelled otherwise than on horseback prior to the middle of the eighteenth century, and it is beyond question that the great road passed by the Porthaethwy ferry before that date.

When we recall the somewhat serious delays and uncertainties attendant upon the crossing of the sands, we seem to be justified in concluding that the number of the vehicles which followed this route could never have been large, and that any traffic of this character which there may have been, would have been early transferred to the Porthaethwy ferry. The Lords Bulkeley may have made their arrangements for the ferrying over at Beaumaris of their coaches, and those of their friends and of distinguished travellers, until later times, but our study of the the Corporation Books inclines us to the view that no boat was ever maintained for this purpose at the ferry. John Williams, however, came to a different conclusion. Among his notes we find the statement, "From 1690 to 1835, or later, the ferry was at the Point. A large boat capable of carrying carriages and horses placed there."[1] Here, in the absence of more definite evidence, we must leave it.

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[1] Kinmel MSS., No. 31 (N.L.W.).

4. PORTHAETHWY, 1715–1826

In 1715 we found Thomas Williams defending his title to the ferry. The Rentals of the eighteenth century tell us no more than that the rents of £3 6s. 8d. for the ferry, and of 1s. for the ferry-house, had been paid, or were owing, by Thomas Williams, Robert Williams, and finally by Holland Williams. There is a certain confusion between the names of the owners and those of the tenants, who doubtless were the actual payers of the rents. Among the latter we find the names of Richard Davies, William Davies, and Thomas Carter; and an auditor, in 1781, makes a note that Holland Williams is the owner and John Carter the tenant.[1] Holland Williams, however, as we shall see, had been the proprietor for at least ten years at this date.

An Act of Parliament is passed, in 1794, which provides *inter alia* "for the Sale of Fee Farm and other unimprovable Rents." Holland Williams takes every advantage of this Act, and in March, 1795, pays £72 7s. 6d. into the Bank of England and thereby extinguishes his rents.[2] The ferry and the ferry-house are now shown as "sold to Holland Williams Esq.," and figure no longer in the Rentals.

We have reviewed, under Conway and under Beaumaris, the little evidence available bearing upon the route followed by travellers to and from Holyhead, during the seventeenth century and the early years of the eighteenth. We have drawn the conclusion that though Beaumaris figures so prominently on the road to Holyhead throughout these years, still, that the ordinary traveller was probably, for the most part, coming by Bangor and Porthaethwy, and thence following the direct road to Holyhead. The crossing at Porthaethwy was a narrow one, available at all states of the tide, and not so liable to interruption by thick or stormy weather; and, as concerns the road, we have seen that Ogilby's Map of 1675 brings the road from Beaumaris to Holyhead into the old line of road from Porthaethwy to Holyhead, near Hirdrefaig, only some five miles from Porthaethwy. We have seen also that in 1621 there was a deputy postmaster at Llangefni; in other words, an innkeeper who kept horses for hire and who had undertaken certain responsibilities for horsing the postboys and forwarding the mails. We have also found Coningsby Williams, in 1687, securing the license under which he built the Porthaethwy ferry-house; an indication, surely, of some considerable traffic at this time.

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[1] L.R. 2/318.

[2] L.R. 1/254, 66 Anglesey.

During the early years of the eighteenth century the relative importance of the Porthaethwy ferry is placed beyond question. Beaumaris loses its position as a post town on the Holyhead road in 1718, and Bangor takes its place; and we are told in 1721 that Bangor is on the great road from London to Holyhead. We may surmise that the road approaches to the ferry were improved about this time, that the the little round boats, carrying but three horses, were supplemented by larger ones, and that coaches began to cross at Porthaethwy. But we have many long years to wait before evidence of such changes becomes available.

It is only in a map, first published apparently in 1795, that we first find the road approaches to the Porthaethwy ferry delineated. This shows the old turnpike road from Bangor to Caernarvon with two branches leading from it down to the ferry, one coming from Bangor, at Penchwintan, and the other coming from Caernarvon, at Rhos Garnedd. These two branches meet above the shore, immediately below the buildings of a little tenement named "Borth," which then stood upon the site till recently occupied by the old stables of Bodlondeb. The map further represents the branch road from Penchwintan as forking, at the point where the upper Glyn Lodge now stands, and a road leading from this point to the shore, further to the eastward, near to a building, which uncertainty as to the exact date of the map prevents us from naming.

Upon the Anglesey side the ferry-house is indicated, and a road leads from before it along the shore to Cadnant, and on to Beaumaris; but the Holyhead road leaves the shore at a point a little to the eastward of the ferry-house, clearly from the landing place to which we shall find the name Porth-y-wrach attached.[1]

The main crossing place of early days would appear to have been between Borth and the old pier below the ferry-house much of which remains to this day; and we may assume that the crossing further eastward, from below the Bishop's tenement called Cae'r Glowr, upon which the George and Dragon Inn later makes it appearance, to Porth-y-wrach, came into use during the earlier decades of the eighteenth century, when the transport of wheeled vehicles necessitated the use of large and heavy boats. Such boats would be unable to fetch across from under Borth, during the hours around high water, when the tide sets strongly to the westward.

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[1] *Map of the Six Counties of North Wales*, by John Evans. The western corner of the County of Caernarvon is included on the Anglesey Sheet, part, and perhaps the whole, of which had been surveyed before 1776, v. *Note* p. 307.

The name "Borth" appears, sometimes, to have been applied generally to the area along the Caernarvonshire shore, to and from which the Porthaethwy ferry boats plied. We may perhaps connect this with the name "Treborth," which Browne Willis lists as one of the nine "vills," constituting the parish of Bangor.

We later find that there were landing piers under Borth, and under Cae'r Glowr. The latter is called the "Lower Pier," and we may assume that under Borth was the "Upper Pier." We shall also find that there was a third definitely recognised crossing, namely, from the old Treborth Mill, below the present Ceris, to Carreg yr Halen.

Two travellers, who have left accounts of their journeys, crossed at Porthaethwy during the third decade of the eighteenth century.

Daniel Defoe, in one of the years preceding 1725, traversed Anglesey from Abermenai to Holyhead, and from Holyhead to Beaumaris, and found it a pleasanter country than any other part of North Wales. "Here," he writes, "we cross'd the Fretum or strait of Meneu again, and came to Bangor, at the Place where King Edward I intended to have built a great Stone Bridge, it wou'd indeed have been a Work fit for so great and powerful a King, as K. Edward was : But the Bottom being doubtful, and the sea in that Place sometimes very raging and strong, the Workmen thought it impracticable, and tho' as we were told, that the King was very positive in his Design for a great while yet he was prevail'd with at last to decline it."[1]

According to another version of the story, it was only through the King's attention being called off by the Scottish war that the plan was abandoned.[2]

That it was at Porthaethwy that travellers were told this tale, receives confirmation a little later. The two English Gentlemen, whom we have met with at Conway and whose letters were published in 1748, made a short stay in Bangor, and one day visited Caernarvon. On their way back they crossed into Anglesey at a ferry called "Menau," and saw some "Monstrous stones raised after the Manner of those called Stone-henge." They had a view of the "Strait of Menau" upon their right, as they rode along, "very narrow not above a Bow-shot over any where unless our Eyes deceived us. We passed over the Ferry again to Bangor. King Edward the First proposed to build a Bridge where the Ferry now is."[3]

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[1] Defoe, *Tour*, Vol. II, p. 463. North Wales figures in Vol. II of the original edition, and Vol. II was published in 1725.

[2] *Beauties of England and Wales* : *North Wales*, by J. Evans, 1812, pp. 297–8.

[3] *A Tour through Ireland. In Several Entertaining Letters,* by Two English Gentlemen, London, 1748.

Our other traveller, of the third decade, was Dean Swift. He passed this way in September, 1727, and writes: "I came to Bangor and crossed the Ferry a mile from it where there is an Inn which if it be well kept will break Bangor. There I lay, it was 22 miles from Holyhead. I was on horseback at 4 in the morning resolving to be at Church at Holyhead." The Dean got tired, however, and took a long rest at Llangefni, and did not get to church that Sunday.[1]

We must pause here to note that at some time during the year 1726 the Porthaethwy ferry-boat is said to have sunk, when crowded with people returning from a fair at Bangor. We are told that all on board were drowned, except one man and one woman; and that the latter "floated on her clothes till she was taken up by another boat. She was alive in the year 1798."[2]

William Morris, from 1741 onwards, makes occasional references to the despatch of boxes and parcels from London, by the Chester waggon, to an address in Chester, from which they are forwarded to Anglesey. We later find waggons plying regularly between Holyhead and Chester, transhipping their goods at the ferries; and we may well assume that such waggons were already on the road in 1741.[3]

We have referred to William Bulkeley's account of his attendance at Mrs. Meyrick's funeral, in April, 1742. If the hearse and mourning coaches followed the great road, this would be our first record of vehicles crossing at Porthaethwy (p. 201).

We have referred to Lord Londonderry's arrival at Holyhead in a hired post-chaise in October, 1743. In this case, the chaise had presumably been hired at the Porthaethwy ferry-house, or at Beaumaris (p. 201).

We have also referred to George Wood's quick ride from Holywell in October, 1748, when he "breakfasted at Ruthland, dined at Conway, lay at Bangor Ferry" and reached Holyhead about nine o'clock the next morning (p. 200).

During 1752, William Morris has much to say about the improvement of the road between Holyhead and Porthaethwy. They have made "a coach road from hence to Rhydbont of nine or ten feet wide, after the Irish manner. It's own'd to be the compleated thing of the kind in Wales, if not in England." William Morris has himself subscribed towards the Holyhead section, and has heard that large subscriptions have been raised to carry on the work. We are also told that milestones have come from Dublin, "a present from the owner of the pacquet, to be set from hence to Porthaethwy."[1]

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[1] Quoted from *Bye-Gones*, 5th September, 1883.

[2] Bingley, *North Wales*, Vol. I, p. 280; *N.W.G.*, 8th September, 1808.

[3] *Morris Letters.*

With all this attention to our road, we may confidently claim as traffic via the Porthaethwy ferry, the "8 coaches chariots and post-chaises within the compass of 48 hours from Chester," the arrival of which at Holyhead, William Morris records, in August, 1753. The coaches and chariots we take to be the private vehicles of well-to-do-travellers, which had been ferried over at Conway, and at Porthaethwy. As we have seen, under Conway, it is not until 1764 that we have first found mention of a stage coach between Chester and Holyhead, and meanwhile most travellers, like John Wesley and his companions, in 1756, are still making their journeys on horseback or, in some cases, incurring the extra expense of a post-chaise. It is only the private vehicles, we shall find, which are ordinarily carried over at the ferries.

Returning once more, and for the last time, to William Morris, we find him, in January, 1760, engaged in drafting a petition to Parliament for a turnpike road across Anglesey; and attending a meeting, convened for the purpose of enlisting support for the project, at "Gwindy neu'r Gwyndy, the new Post Office."[2] The Turnpike Act for the road from Porthaethwy to Holyhead is passed in 1765, and that for a road across Caernarvonshire in 1769; and we now have turnpike roads from Chester to Holyhead.

Just at this time a Bishop of Bangor develops a very lively interest in the Porthaethwy ferry. In past years we have seen Crown lessees of our ferry, assailing the Bishops' rights at Porthesgob and Garth. A Bishop now pays a return visit to Porthaethwy.

Holland Williams v. Bishop John Ewer

The Bishop's ferries, from the commencement of the eighteenth century, had, like all the other ferries on the Straits, been known by the names of their Anglesey landing places, and the Cadnant ferry had been leased, at the low rent of ten shillings per annum, to the proprietors of the Porthaethwy ferry. John Ewer became Bishop in 1768, and a twenty-one years' lease of the Cadnant ferry, granted to Thomas Williams in 1746, having terminated, the ferry was in the Bishop's hands to dispose of.

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[1] *Morris Letters*, I, 204.

[2] The writer follows Pennant and the early Ordnance Survey of 1816–1823, in accepting "Gwindy" as the correct spelling of this inn's name.

On 19th September, 1771, the Bishop leases to his son-in-law, Henry Scourfield, "all that fferry or Passage by water over the river Menai commonly called or known by the name Porth Escob." The lease is for a term of three lives. The yearly rent is twenty shillings, and, in addition to the rent, Scourfield covenants "to Convey and Transport over the said Ferry or Passage by water him the said John Lord Bishop of Bangor and his Successors, his and their Servants, horses and Carriages, to and from the County of Anglesey without any ffee or reward or gratuity or compensation whatsoever."

Upon the same date, and for the term of the same three lives, the Bishop also leases to Henry Scourfield "All that tenement with the Appurtenances lying in the parish of Bangor in the County of Carnarvon called Cae'r Glowr now in the possession or occupation of John Carter containing by Estimation fifteen acres . . . At the Yearly Rent of £6."[1]

We may here quote certain statements made, a few years later, by one Richard Burn, who appears to have come to Bangor, in 1775, as secretary to the Right Revd. John Moore, who became Bishop in that year.

Regarding Cae'r Glowr, Richard Burn writes: "These premises contain 15 acres in one ffield which is adjoining to the ferry of Porth Escob and were long ago Rented by Tenants at Will. The late Bishop Ewer expended about £300 in Building a House for the conveniency of a Tenant for the fferry which House with the said 15 acres are now let for £21 p. ann. Rack rent by Mr. Henry Scourfield the Lessee."

After referring to the leases of Cae'r Glowr and the Porthesgob ferry to Henry Scourfield, Richard Burn continues: "Two expensive Law Suits thereupon arose upon these two Questions 1st Whether the Bishop's fferry was a ffoot ferry only, or a ferry likewise for Cattle and Carriages, and 2ndly about the Limits; in both which a verdict was given against the Bishop. And therefore the Ferry is now discontinued as within the Limits assigned it is of no value."[2]

Richard Burn was a stranger and had not perhaps made himself familiar with the precise limits within which the Porthaethwy and Porthescob ferries had hitherto operated, or with the exact position of Cae'r Glowr.

Some details of the law suits to which Richard Burn refers are to be found upon the Files of the Prothonotary of the Great Sessions, now deposited at the National Library. We may note that John Carter had become Scourfield's tenant of the ferry as well as of Cae'r Glowr, which latter we find was an inn from the outset.

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[1] Welsh Church MSS. (N.L.W.). Register of Leases, No. 102, p 46 and p 40.

[2] Welsh Church MSS. (N.L.W.), No. 96.

Under "1772, Session I" we find a Declaration : "For William Davies Ferryman Plaintiff against John Carter Innkeeper Defendant in a Plea of Trespass upon the case to the Plaintiff's Damage of Five hundred Pounds."

This Declaration states that Holland Williams Esq^{r}. is seized of a certain ferry called Porthaethwy, which he and his predecessors have had and enjoyed from time immemorial, for carrying and conveying "from the parish of Bangor to the parish of Llandisilio," and *vice versa*, "Coaches Chaises Waggons Wains Carts and other Carriages" and all manner of Cattle, persons and things ; also that William Davies is possessed of the said ferry, as tenant, for a term of years not yet past. That, nevertheless, John Carter, "well knowing the premises," on, or about, the first day of June, 1771, had unlawfully erected and set up a certain new ferry "from the parish of Bangor to the parish of Llandisilio," and *vice versa*, for the carrying of Coaches, Chaises, etc., etc., and had taken great sums of money as toll to the prejudice and great hurt of the Porthaethwy ferry, and of William Davies.

The Declaration now proceeds to deal with the question of the limits of the Porthaethwy ferry, by recapitulating, in full, the accusation brought against John Carter, in respect of a series of ferries, each of which is "Borthaethwy." Four such ferries are cited, the western limits of which are the same in each case, viz. "Treborth Mill" in the parish of Bangor and "Carreg yr Halen" in Llandysilio. In No. 1, the eastern limits are "Porth yr Ogof," in Bangor parish, and "Cadnant River, in Llandysilio. In No. 2, they are "Trwyn Llwyd" and "Ynys Faelog" respectively. In No. 3, "Pistill Coch and "Porth Ddaniel" ; and in No. 4, the "Lower Quay" and "Porth y Wrach."[1]

Under "1772, Session 2," we have another Declaration by William Davies, repeating the previous one, but adding that, during his tenure of the ferry, he had taken and received certain reasonable sums of money for the passage, "that is to say for every foot Passenger the sum of one Penny for every Horse Mare or Gelding the sum of two Pence for all horned Cattle two Pence a head for every score of Sheep four Pence for every

[1] "Porth yr Ogof" was where stone was shipped from the "Cefn Ogo Lime Quarry," situated just to the west of the Nantporth headland, but now largely filled up. The names "Trwyn Llwyd" and "Pistill Coch" have not elsewhere been met with. We find that the crossings from these three points are subsequently ignored.

score of Swine Two shillings and for every wheel Carriage, according to the number of wheels ... for every wheel."[1] William Davies, further, declares that he has kept and still keeps "proper and sufficient Boats or Vessels with proper and sufficient Watermen and Servants for the carrying conveying and ferrying of all Passengers and the Cattle and Carriages of all Persons."

We learn from Depositions made in September, 1773, that the plaintiff had obtained judgment, but only in respect of Ferry No. 4, i.e. within the limits of the Lower Quay and Treborth Mill, on the one side, and Porth-y-Wrach and Carreg yr Halen, on the other. We learn also that under a "Writ of Inquiry," for the purpose of assessing the damages, evidence had been taken before the Undersheriff of Caernarvonshire and a jury, and that the damages had been returned at £161 6s. 8d.

We find further that on 28th August 1773, Richard Poole, the Bishop's Attorney, had served a notice upon Thomas Williams, the plaintiff's attorney, that the Court would be moved to set aside the Writ of Inquiry on the ground that the evidence had not been restricted to within the prescribed limits. Following this notice, we find Hugh Evans, the Undersheriff, deposing that no evidence had been admitted, but such as applied to damages sustained within the limits specified. Four of the jurors also depose "that the Jury well understood the Nature of such Limitation with the reason of it and therefore assessed the Damages according to the Evidence thereof within that District only."

We also meet with some depositions on behalf of the defendant at this date. John Roberts, of Cadnant, ferryman, had been employed by John Carter, and deposes that "the said fferry boat was not Landed or plied near so frequently between Port y Wrach and Carreg yr Halen . . · and the Lower Quay and Treborth Mill . . . as to the Eastward of these Boundaries." He also states that the tolls received for ferrying passengers, carriages, cattle and other things, within the limits of No. 4 ferry "did not Amount to five shillings a Week on an average one week with another to the best of this Deponents Knowledge remembrance and belief." Four others, similarly employed by John Carter, depose to the same effect.

In April, 1774, we have a deposition by Richard Poole, in which he states that John Carter's answer to the Bill had been put in, at the last Great Sessions at Dolgelley, and that the answer of the Bishop was ready, "and that he, the deponent, was ready, by the authority of the said Bishop, to pay £200 and taxed costs to the said Holland Williams, and that the said John Carter had left off carrying carriages, horses and cattle, and other things (except persons or foot passengers) since the latter end of September."

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[1] The amount per wheel is not inserted. We find, in 1782, that the figure is 2s. 6d (v.p. 253).

One is inclined to question the small charge of 4d. per score, for sheep. But we shall find that only 7d. per score is given as the charge at Tal y foel, in 1821, though this has been raised to 1s. 4d. by the new steam ferry, in 1852.

If this offer had been accepted, the Bishop would have still been in a position to maintain a boat for foot passengers below his new inn at Cae'r Glowr. On 30th August, 1774, however, we find that notices were served upon Richard Poole and upon the Revd. Richard Griffith, the Bishop's agent, calling upon them to produce a counterpart lease of Cadnant ferry, dated 1st September, 1746. This lease, as we shall find, describes the ferry as leading from the parish of Bangor to the parish of Llandegfan; and we may conclude that Holland Williams was not going to be satisfied with anything less than the complete restriction of the Bishop's boats within their old limits.

The Protonotary's Files do not carry the story further. They do, however, contain several Bills of Costs, of which the latest reads as follows:—

> "Bill of costs of the plaintiff, William Davies, ferryman, from the vacation before Session 2, 1773, to the vacation following Session 2, 1774, amounting to £346 1s. 3d. which was allowed.
> Damages—£298 0s. 8¾. [Dec. 10, 1774]."

Whether this represented the total cost of Bishop Ewer's adventure or not cannot be said.

Nothing on these Files affords any indication of the grounds upon which Bishop Ewer sought to justify this intrusion. It is, doubtless, significant that the name Cadnant should have been dropped, and the name Porthesgob revived, in the lease to Scourfield. We may observe that the Bishops had, at this time, been holding their cattle fairs, each side of the Porthaethwy ferry, for eighty years (v.p. 191), and perhaps they already, in 1771, as in 1814, claimed to be Lords of the Manor in Llandysilio. We may surmise that this was the consideration which led Bishop Ewer to seek to extend his water of Porthesgob, so as to include the foreshore of Llandysilio as well as that of Llandegfan.

However ill advised Bishop Ewer's attempt to ply his boats at Porthaethwy may have been, it soon becomes evident that there was a good opening for an inn at Cae'r Glowr. Already, in 1727, Dean Swift seems to question the good conduct of the ferry-house. In the summer of 1774, Wyndham takes a meal there, and writes: "We took the direct road from the starving inn at Portatheu to Beaumaris."[1] We find confirmation of the fact that the ferry-house was not being well kept in our next record.

In the *Directions for Travellers* published in 1777, and already referred to under Conway (v.p. 205), the road from Conway to Holyhead is dealt with as follows:—

> "To Bangor 16 miles. At the Eagles you will be tolerably accommodated.
>
> To Bangor Ferry 1 mile. There is an inn each side of the ferry. The House on the Anglesey side has been much neglected. That on the Carnarvonshire side will, when finished, be fit for the occupation of travellers.
>
> To Gwindu, the Halfway-House 12 miles and a half. This is in every respect the best and cheapest house on the road.
>
> To Holy-Head 12 miles and a half. At Holy-Head, the Eagle and Child, the principal inn built by sir J. Stanley, contains elegant accommodation for travellers and good entertainment. There are two other good inns in the town.
>
> N.B. The road from Chester to Holy-Head is in general a fine turnpike road, but at the ferries and on the road you meet with great imposition. They charge the travellers in carriage 1s. a piece at each ferry, whereas they ought to demand no more than 1d. and 2d. for a horse."

We shall find Mr. William Jackson, in February, 1826, stating that he has been at the Bangor Ferry Inn for fifty years; we may, therefore, perhaps assume that Henry Scourfield is now enlarging Bishop Ewer's £300 house, and that the George and Dragon, otherwise the Bangor Ferry Inn, is now about to commence its career, under a sub-lease to Mr. William Jackson. We have already seen that John Carter had become Holland Williams's tenant of the Porthaethwy ferry by 1781, and we may add that a tourist who arrived at our ferry in a Conway post-chaise, in May, 1780, states that he crossed over and "took a fresh carriage at Carter's."[2]

The impositions practised by the ferrymen, and the general conduct of the ferry, were evidently occasioning considerable dissatisfaction at this time, and, in 1782, the Gentlemen of

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[1] Wyndham, *Tour.*

[2] *A Month's Tour in North Wales, Dublin and its Environs.*

Anglesey, under the leadership of Mr. Holland Griffith, of Carreglwyd, decide to take action in the matter. Their proceedings are recorded in an old Minute Book, in a brown paper cover, bearing the following inscription :—

"October 14, 1782. Bangor Ferry Bridge."

The minutes of the first two meetings directly concern the ferry and are quoted below in full.[1]

> "At a Meeting of the Gentlemen of the County of Anglesey held at Gwyndu on the 14th Day of October, 1782, for taking into Consideration the several Complaints of Imposition Delay and Illtreatment experienced by the Public at Porthaethwy Ferry.
>
> Owen Putland Meyrick Esq. in the Chair.
>
> Resolved—That it is the unanimous Sense of this Meeting that the Occupiers of the said Ferry have in various Instances extorted from Passengers greater sums than they are legally intitled to.
>
> Resolved—That it is likewise the unanimous sense of this Meeting that the Occupiers of the said ferry have in many Instances been guilty of Neglect and Delay in carrying Passengers over the said ferry and that the Boats are Dangerous and Much out of repair and that they do not keep a sufficient Number of Men to Work and Ply the said ferry.
>
> Resolved—That these are grievances disgraceful to the County and injurious to the Public and that it is the unanimous sense of this Meeting that the owner of the said ferry be made acquainted with these resolutions and that in Case the ferry is not immediately put under proper regulations We think it a Duty we owe to the Public to Adopt legal measures to remedy the evil.
>
> Resolved—Unanimously that the Thanks of this Meeting be given to Holland Griffith Esquire for his Particular Attention to this Business and his Public Spirit in calling the Meeting.
>
> Resolved—Unanimously that this Meeting be adjourned to Monday the 28th instant to be held at Gwyndu aforesaid for the Purpose of receiving the Answer of Holland Williams Esquire the Patentee of the said Ferry.

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[1] The Minute Book is at the Bangor Diocesan Registry, and was copied by the kind permission of the late Mr. A. I. Pryce, the Diocesan Registrar.

At a Meeting of the Gentlemen of Anglesey held by Adjournment at Gwyndu in the said County on the 28th day of October 1782, for the purpose of receiving the Answer of Holland Williams Esquire the Patentee of Porthaethwy ferry to several resolutions made at a Meeting held at Gwyndu aforesaid on the 14th Instant for taking into Consideration the several complaints of Imposition, Delay and Illtreatment experienced by the Public at the said Ferry.

Owen Putland Meyrick Esqr. in the Chair.

Resolved—Unanimously that the Thanks of this Meeting be given to Holland Williams, Esquire, the Patentee of the said Ferry for his readiness in consenting to put the ferry under such Regulations as the Meeting shall think fit.

Resolved—Unanimously that the following Regulations take place (viz.)

First. That one Moiety of the said Ferry be let to any Person that Mr. Williams the Patentee may approve on the Carnarvonshire shore and the other Moiety to the Occupier of Mr. Williams' House on the Anglesey shore.

2dly. That each Occupier provide one Horse Boat and one small Boat, and that each Occupier keep four men to work and ply his Moiety of the said ferry.

3dly. That the same ferriage as has been heretofore paid for conveying Carriages, Horses and Passengers in the large boat (viz.) Two shillings and Sixpence per wheel for Carriages, two pence for a Man and Horse and one penny for every foot Passenger be continued; and when any Passenger shall demand the small Boat that sixpence be paid by each Passenger for such conveyance.

4thly. That Tickets be provided by the Occupiers of the Moieties of the said Ferry to be delivered to all Passengers who may have Occasion to return in the Course of the same day.

Resolved—Unanimously that one Quay or more if necessary be immediately built by voluntary subscription, for the security of the ferry Boats on the Carnarvonshire side.

Resolved—Unanimously that we whose names are hereunder written being Gentlemen resident in the County of Anglesey, in order to check and prevent every species of Imposition and Ill-treatment which may be made on or offered to Travellers by the occupiers of or Persons employed at the said Ferry will be ready to receive any complaints which may be made to us and will engage as far as in us lies to afford every possible redress.

Resolved—Unanimously that it is recommended to Mr. Williams the Patentee to give Notice to the present Occupier to quit the said Ferry he being an unfit Person to hold the same.

Resolved—Unanimously that the Resolutions of the 14th. and 25th. instant be inserted in the St. James's Chronicle, General Evening Post, Dublin Evening Post, Freeman's Journal, the Chester Papers, and the Shrewspaper paper."

Between October, 1782, and March, 1785, a large number of meetings are recorded. They are frequently held at Gwindy, but also at Llangefni, Beaumaris, Plas Gwyn, and "Jackson's house at Borth." We find that subscriptions totalling £130 are received towards the construction of the quays; but Mr. Holland Williams, we are not surprised to learn, refuses to give effect to the regulations of 28th October. It has, thereupon, been decided to utilise the fund in exploring the possibility of forming an embankment across the Straits. Mr. Holland Griffith, at this stage, becomes the Chairman of an Anglesey Committee, with Colonel Peacock, of Plas Llanfair, and Mr. Goodman as his most active seconders.

Early in 1783, John Golborne, one the leading engineers of the day, is brought down and, in April, submits a plan of an embankment at the Swilly rock. This was to have a basin and locks for the passage of vessels, and a drawbridge for the land traffic. The Anglesey gentlemen, however, would not have an embankment at the Swilly rock, presumably on account of the cost of the road approaches to it. They wanted their embankment at Ynys Geint, as near as might be to the ferry; but to this position Mr. Golborne would have nothing to say, on account of the gravelly nature of the bottom.

Lord Paget now sends down another engineer, W. Jessop, but he again takes the same view as John Golborne, that the

Swilly rock position is where the embankment should be constructed.

A third engineer, Joseph Nickalls, now comes upon the scene, and proves more complaisant. He submits three alternative proposals for the Ynys Geint position. 1st, A partial embankment, with openings to be spanned by drawbridges. 2nd, A stone bridge. 3rd, A timber bridge, on piles. Both of the two bridges are to have openings spanned by drawbridges, as in the case of the embankment.

Meanwhile, evidence is not lacking in the Minutes that considerable hostility to the proposed embankment is being evinced across the water. We find both Mr. Golborne and Mr. Jessop devoting much attention to the tides, and arguing that the closing of the Swilly by the embankment would be beneficial rather than otherwise to the channels at the west end of the Straits. In view, however, of the opposition which the Embankment proposal has aroused, the Committee, on 24th January, 1784, adopts Mr. Nickall's stone bridge, and drafts a petition to Parliament, praying leave to bring in a Bill for the construction of such a bridge, and forwards the same to Lord Bulkeley for presentation. Colonel Peacock and Mr. Goodman have already undertaken the presentation of a petition to the Irish Parliament, soliciting its support.

The opposition was not, apparently, of an organised character until, at a public meeting held at Caernarvon on 9th December, 1783, a Committee was appointed which styled itself "The Committee of Navigation of the County of Carnarvon." The Minute Book of this Committee is likewise extant in the possession of the Caernarvon Harbour Trust. Lord Penrhyn,[1] Mr. Thomas Assheton Smith, and Lord Newborough figure among the objectors, but the chairman of the Committee was Mr. Edward Griffiths, Merchant, Carnarvon. He plays quite an autocratic part. The entire control, organisation, and direction of the opposition is in his hands, both locally and in London.

Mr. Holland Griffith was evidently doing his best to lessen the opposition. He had sent Mr. Golborne's plans, also his report, as likewise Mr. Jessop's, to Caernarvon, for examination, and on 6th February, 1784, he notifies the Caernarvon Committee that the Embankment has been abandoned, and sends them Mr. Nickall's plan of the Stone Bridge, and a copy of the Petition to Parliament. The grounds of the Caernarvon people's objection to the Embankment were, firstly, the difficulty and danger which vessels would encounter when endeavouring to approach an embankment placed among the rocks of the Swilly, and, secondly, the belief that the stopping up of the tides, through the Swilly, must necessarily lead to the silting up of the channels at the western end of the Straits. Mr. Golborne's and Mr. Jessop's arguments to the contrary failed to make any impression. We further learn from the Caernarvon Minute Book that Mr. Golborne's Embankment would have entirely prevented even small boats from passing through the Swilly at low water. The abandonment of the Embankment, in favour of the Stone Bridge, did not, however, in any way diminish the Caernarvon opposition.

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[1] There is, perhaps, some doubt as to Lord Penrhyn's attitude at a later stage.

We find from the Journals of the House of Commons that the "Petition of several Noblemen and the humble Petition of several Gentlemen Clergy and others, of the County of Anglesey and of other parts of Great Britain and also of Ireland" was duly presented to the House on 18th February, 1784. It prays for leave to bring in a Bill for making "a Bridge from the County of Anglesey to the opposite Shore, in the County of Carnarvon, at a Place near the said Ferry called Inysgeint."

The Petition is referred to a Committee, but Parliament is shortly afterwards dissolved, and the business of the Bridge is shelved for the rest of the year.

Finding that the dropping of the Embankment has in nowise lessened the opposition, the Anglesey Committee is inclined to revert to it once more, and when their Petition is again presented on 7th February, 1785, they have added, after the word "Bridge," the words "or Embankment with a Lock or Drawbridge." The presentation of their Petition is this time followed by the presentation of numerous Petitions praying to be heard in opposition. From St. Ives and Swansea, in the south, to Chester and Liverpool, in the north, the merchants, traders, and shipowners are up in arms. Even "the Merchants Traders and Pilots and Owners of Vessels of Anglesey" ask to be heard in opposition, and Mr. Holland Williams, of Pwllycrochan, also prays that his claims for compensation may receive due consideration.

In March of this year we find Mr. Holland Griffith busy writing letters. He implores Sir John Stanley to use his influence with the leading merchants of Liverpool, and he drafts "a real and candid state of the case," which Lord Uxbridge undertakes to lay before Mr. Pitt. In writing to Lord Uxbridge, he says that "It is vain to propose any passage at all to the

Carnarvon Committee better than the present. They have declared themselves hostile to any improvement that can be proposed and it now appears very manifest that their opposition proceeds from a jealousy that the little town of Bangor may be so benefitted by such a plan as to endanger a rivalship with the great City of Carnarvon."

The last meeting of the Anglesey Committee was held on 19th March, 1785, and approved a letter to Mr. Jessop, informing him that the Liverpool Gentlemen had offered to send over two engineers to view the river, and urgently requesting his presence. The copy of this letter, with Mr. Holland Griffith's signature thereto, is the last entry in the Minute Book. But a London Committee, consisting of Lord Uxbridge, Lord Boston, Lord Bulkeley, The Bishop of Bangor, Sir Hugh Owen, Sir John Stanley, Sir George Warren, Owen Putland Meyrick, Paul Panton, Junr., John Jones, and Thomas Williams, Esquires, with Nicholas Bayley, M.P., as convenor, had been already constituted, and the general direction of affairs now passes into their hands, acting in close contact with Mr. Holland Griffith.

Turning to the Caernarvon Minute Book, we find that the two Liverpool Engineers, together with Mr. Holland Griffith and Mr. Jessop, visited Caernarvon, and had an interview with Mr. Edward Griffith and others; and we are told that they agreed in condemning the Embankment and the Stone Bridge, but "pertinaciously rejected" all objections to the Wooden Bridge. We further learn, from the same source, that Mr. Holland Griffith and Colonel Peacock were present at a meeting of the Liverpool Committee of Trade on 9th April, when it was agreed that no danger to navigation would arise from the Timber Bridge, and that any small degree of delay would be amply compensated by the appropriation of the surplus money arising from the tolls, for the improvement of the navigation. The Liverpool Committee decided not to oppose the Bill; and we further learn, on 12th April, that Chester had followed Liverpool's example.

We next find, from this Minute Book, that a meeting of the opposing parties was held at the St. Albans Tavern, in London, on 25th April, and was adjourned, on Lord Penrhyn's motion, in order that the Chairman of the Caernarvon Committee might have full particulars of the proposed bridge. The adjourned meeting was held on 29th April. It is evident that the supporters of the bridge formed the majority of those present and resolutions approving the bridge were passed, Mr. Edward Griffith and his party dissenting.

The resolutions passed at this meeting were printed by Richard Llwyd as a footnote to the lines, in "Beaumaris Bay," in which he pays tribute to Mr. Holland Griffith's effort, and read as follows :—

> "That the erecting a Carriage Bridge over the Streights of Menai, will be of great public utility.
>
> That it appears from the reports and concurrent opinions of several able engineers, that the erecting a Timber Bridge upon piles, with three Swivel Bridges, will not be detrimental to the navigation of the said Streights, and therefore we approve of a bridge being erected upon that plan.
>
> That we will support the application made to Parliament for an Act for building a Bridge across the said Streights, agreeable to the above plan.
>
> N. Bayley, Chairman."

Everything appeared to be going well for the promoters of the bridge at this time, but, for some reason not disclosed, the London Committee, shortly after the meeting at the St. Albans Tavern, decided to postpone further proceedings for the current session. This was hailed by the Caernarvon party as a "complete victory," and Mr. Edward Griffith, having returned home, circulated his thanks to the "Friends of the Navigation of the Menai," adding, however, a warning that there was still a threat of further proceedings. This brings us to the end of the Caernarvon Minute Book.

The Chester paper, *Adams's Weekly Courant*, has been strongly opposing the bridging of the Menai, and recording with satisfaction, week by week, the petitions presented to Parliament against it.

On 10th May, 1785, it refers to the scheme as a "pernicious Project," and adds, "Surely the advocates for a Bridge will no longer attempt to enforce their speculative opinions, when they find the Voice of the trading Interest to be so decidedly against them."

A week later the *Courant* has the pleasure to inform the public "that the Design of making a Bridge over the Streights of Menai is entirely defeated by the firm and strenuous opposition of the Committee of Navigation of the County of Carnarvon, and thro' their means of the chief Part of the trading Interest of the Western Coast."

Whatever the reason may have been for the postponement of further proceedings, in May of 1785, it is very clear that there was no intention of abandoning the project. Among the Carreglwyd Papers is a printed "Sketch of a Plan—for—

Building a Timber Bridge—across—The River Menai -Proposed—And to be carried into execution– under the sanction of the—Legislature—by the—Gentlemen of the County—of—Anglesea."[1] This was printed in London, and bears the date 1786. It is a very detailed statement of the case for the Bridge and was evidently printed for circulation. There is also among these Papers a copy of the "Bill," which was, it would appear, being circulated at the same time. As an Appendix to the "Sketch of a Plan" are printed a number of letters received by Mr. Holland Griffith, and among them letters from the Chamber of Commerce at Liverpool, and from the Mayor of Chester, expressing, at the end of 1785, approval of the Bill.

Turning once more to the Journals of the House of Commons, we find that, on 13th February, 1786, "A Petition of several Noblemen and the humble Petition of several Gentlemen, Clergy, and others of the Kingdoms of Great Britain, Ireland and the Principality of Wales was presented to the House and read: Setting forth that the Improvement of the great Road . . . Towards Ireland . . . is . . . of great public Importance . . . and that the passage of Porthaethwy . . . is frequently attended with very great Delay, Inconvenience and Danger . . . and Representing to the House that . . . a safe and convenient Timber Bridge may be erected . . . at or near the said Ferry, of such Form and Construction as not to prevent the Passage of Ships . . . and therefore praying that Leave may be given to bring in a Bill."

The petition is referred to a Committee, before which Colonel Peacock gives evidence regarding the shortcomings of the ferry and the extortions and negligence of the ferrymen. He had himself been delayed four hours by the negligence of the boatmen. He had also been delayed thirteen hours by the weather, and had been in danger of the boat sinking. Delays of two or three hours, on account of the weather, were common. The engineer, Mr. Nickalls, testifies as to the satisfactory character of the proposed bridge, and a Captain Toty, R.N., that the bridge will not obstruct the navigation.

Mr. Bayley presents the Committee's Report on 1st March, and leave is given to bring in a Bill.

Mr. Bayley presents the Bill on 6th March, and it is read a first time.

On 20th March the Bill is read a second time, and the petitions are read, and Counsel for both sides are heard and examine witnesses, and are then directed to withdraw.

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[1] Studied by kind permission of the late Major F. Carpenter-Holland-Griffith.

> "And a Motion being made, and the question proposed, that the Bill be committed;
>
> And a Debate arising in the House thereupon:
>
> Ordered. That the Debate be adjourned till Tomorrow Sevennight, the 28th Day of this Instant March."

The only further reference to the Bill, in the Journals of the House of Commons, consists of three words in the Index: "Not proceeded in."

At some date, subsequent to the meeting of the Committee which presents its Report on 1st March, and prior to 20th March, when the Bill was read a second time, a printed statement was issued by the opponents of the Bill, headed "Observations on the Application to Parliament, for an Act for Building a Timber Bridge over the Streights of Menai."[1]

These "Observations" seek to show that the Timber Bridge is an impracticable proposition, and that, if constructed, the effect upon the navigation of the Straits—"frequented by upwards of Four Thousand Sail of Vessels in the Year all Sea rigged and many of them of very considerable Burthen"—would be disastrous. It is added that the evidence of professional men will be produced in support of these contentions.

It is also stated that "there is a safe and commodious Ferry at Porthaethwy," and that evidence will show "that from the Commencement of the Mail Coaches on that Road, no Mail has been delayed Five Minutes in crossing Porthaethwy Ferry, neither have any Passengers had any Occasion to complain of Imposition, or the least Delay or Danger, since the Regulation which took Place about Three Years ago."

We may assume that the promoters of the Bill found themselves in a hopeless minority, and did not carry the matter any further.

The last traveller on horseback, whose references to the ferry perhaps call for mention, was John Byng, who with a friend, and riding their own horses, toured North Wales in the summer of 1784. They "came to Bangor ferry; where we were vex'd to see the inconvenience of the passage, and to be crowded in the ferry boat with post horses etc. Our horses being unaccustomed to leap in, and out of ferry boats, were very difficult to manage, and I was glad to alight in the Isle of Anglesey without damage. A little twining road, with one constant magnificent view, in four miles brought us to Beaumaris." This was the first of our ferries for Byng to cross, and we may recall that he found the conditions at the Beaumaris ferry, "much worse." Like Wyndham, he takes the direct road to Beaumaris, by Cadnant, and along what is later called the middle road.[1]

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[1] Copy in the writer's possession. It bears no date but refers to evidence given "before the Committee on the Petition," and to evidence which is to be produced, presumably on the occasion of the Second Reading.

We have noted under Conway that one or two coaches weekly, we may presume) were running between Chester and Holyhead, in 1764, and that a coach ran, on three days a week, from Shrewsbury to Holyhead by Wrexham, Mold and Conway, for a few years following 1779. Further, that, in 1780, coaches began to run from London to Holyhead, by Shrewsbury, Pentre Voelas, Llanrwst and Conway, and that this became the great coaching route, and so continued, until the road from Pentre Voelas, by Capel Curig to Llandegai, was constructed under the Turnpike Act of 1802.

We have also seen that the first Irish mail coach left London for Holyhead on 3rd October, 1785, and running by Chester would, according to a time table published in 1787, be due at Bangor about 1 p.m., and at Holyhead about 7 p.m. on 5th October. Allowing for post office business at Bangor, we may time its arrival at the ferry at about 1.30 p.m., and assuming that now, as later, it was allowed one hour for dinner and crossing, this would leave four-and-a-half hours for the journey across Anglesey. These times, totalling forty-seven hours from London to Holyhead, are but little improved upon up to 1808. With the institution of the mail coach, the stage coach from Chester ceases to run, and the mail is the only coach which follows the coast road from Chester to Conway for many years after 1785.

London Directories appear to indicate that, in addition to the Mail, some three coaches were leaving London for Holyhead on almost every day of the week in 1788. The evidence as to the coaches actually arriving at and setting out from Holyhead, which later becomes available, makes it difficult to believe, however, that more than two public coaches were crossing Anglesey each day at this time, namely, the mail and the Shrewsbury coach. These Directories show two waggons as leaving London for Holyhead each week, and we may probably assume that one followed the Chester and one the Shrewsbury road.[2]

Only those travellers who were pressed for time faced the through journey in the mail, or even in the stage coach. Some took advantage of vacant places to travel a certain distance by one or the other. Many hired chaises or coaches at the inns, and arranged their stopping places to suit their own convenience, while a very considerable number travelled in their own coaches and carriages, and sometimes with their own horses also. We shall find particulars of the coaches, carriages, and horses transported across the channel in the packets during the later years of the ferry.

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[1] *Torrington Diaries*, Vol. I, p. 165.

[2] *The Shopkeeper's and Tradesman's Assistant*, and *Lowndes London Directory.*

We are told of a party which made the journey from London to Dublin in June, 1787. They travelled in a coach and four, accompanied by a post-chaise and pair and five outriders, and reached Holyhead in four days. We are given certain items of their expenditure, among which we find "Ferry at Bangor 1 li 10s." If the chaise, as well as the coach, was ferried over, this would account for 20s. of the amount; but it seems probable that the Porthaethwy ferrymen were not above fleecing parties of this kind. The coach was taken to Dublin on the "yacht," which was hired to transport the party at the cost of "28 li. 7s. 9d."; but one concludes that the horses employed on the journey were post horses.[1]

Another party lands at Holyhead in the summer of 1791. They "slept at Smith's hotel and proceeded in his coach and four the next morning as far as Conway." The writer of the account, while crossing the ferry, contrasts the barren aspect of Anglesey with the opposite shore, "where the lands are cultivated to the water's edge, and an elegant inn among trees and green fields, with a neat garden in front, invites you to experience the cleanliness and comfort of its accommodation." The party dines at the inn and finds there a fellow passenger on packet, an officer who, with his servant, "is travelling in his own carriage." After dinner they proceed in a coach which is supplied, one may surmise, by Mr. William Jackson, and reach Conway at dusk.[2]

Among those who travelled this route fairly frequently at this time was Lord Luccan of Castlebar, Co. Mayo, Ireland. We may suppose that he rested occasionally at the Bangor Ferry Inn, and developed a liking for the spot. In 1790 he took a lease of the little tenement called Borth from Charles Evans, of Trefeilir, and built a house in a commanding position overlooking the Straits and the ferry, to which he gave the name Gorphwysfa. Here he was in the habit of spending a short time on his way to and from Ireland. The lease was for three lives and thirty years, but some change must have taken place in Lord Luccan's plans, as, in 1794, he assigned it to Thomas Parry Jones, Esq., of Madryn, disposing of lease, house, furniture, and pictures for £2,000.[1]

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[1] Roberts, *Southern Counties*, p. 504.

[2] Clarke, *Tour*, p. 334.

We found a reference to the "passage of beasts at Porthaitho" at the close of Glyndŵr's rebellion, and, in 1638, an estimate of the number of cattle (i.e. 3,000) exported from the County each year. One or two such estimates are to be met with towards the close of the eighteenth century, but it is not until 1794 that we have met with any mention of their swimming across the Straits. George Kay, at this time, computes the number exported annually at 10,000, and states that "the common practice is to swim them across the Menai at Bangor Ferry."[2]

The earliest description of this swimming would appear to be that by Aiken in 1798. He chanced to pass when some herds were crossing on their way to Abergele fair, and gives us the following account: "They are urged in a body by loud shoutings and blows into the water, and as they swim well and fast, usually make their way for the opposite shore: the whole troop proceeds pretty regularly till it arrives within about a hundred and fifty yards of the landing place, when, meeting with a very rapid current formed by the tide, eddying, and rushing with great violence between the rocks that encroach far into the channel, the herd is thrown into the utmost confusion. Some of the boldest and strongest push directly across, and presently reach the land, the more timorous immediately turn round, and endeavour to gain the place from which they set off; but the greater part, borne down by the force of the stream, are carried towards Beaumaris bay, and frequently float to a great distance before they are able to reach the Caernarvonshire shore. To prevent accidents a number of boats well manned attend, who row after the stragglers to force them to join the main body; and if they are very obstinate, the boatmen throw ropes about their horns, and fairly tow them to the shore, which resounds with the loud bellowings of those that are landed, and are shaking their wet sides. Notwithstanding the great number of cattle that annually pass the Strait, an instance seldom, if ever, occurs of any being lost."[3]

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[1] Bodlondeb Title Deeds, and Williams, *Guide*, p. 61.

[2] Kay, *Agriculture of North Wales*.

[3] Aikin, *Tour*, p. 154. Aikin's account makes it clear that the cattle were made to swim across during the period following what is called "low water slack," when the tide ebbs along the Caernarvonshire shore for two hours, but, for the most part, without attaining any great velocity.

We find another account, in a letter dated 1st October, 1807. "At Bangor we fell in with a cattle fair, and saw the ceremony of swimming the poor beasts over—a more unpleasant sight can hardly be imagined. The people tie ropes to the horns of five or six bullocks at once, get into a boat, and drag as hard as they can, while others on shore beat them cruelly to force them into the water; and when they have plunged in, it seems impossible they should not be drowned, as their heads often get under the boat's bottom. The people keep beating them all the way to encourage them to keep above water and to swim, which they do most awkwardly."[1]

We can hardly pass on without quoting Llwyd's "Sonnett" "written at Porthaethwy Fair":—

> "These are the features of the ferrying Fair,
> And those that doat on Discord may go there.
> The tides, contending with the toiling boats,
> The horny forest, that on Menai floats.
> The brutes inferior, but in human form,
> The echoes, wearied with the windy storm,
> The living beach, where bellowing droves depart,
> And the last low, that rends the suffering heart."[2]

Travellers, during the later years of the ferry, ask why suitable boats for the transport of cattle cannot be provided at Bangor ferry, as in other parts of the Kingdom; but the cattle continue to swim, until Telford's bridge is opened.

According to local tradition, the pigs were made to swim as well as the cattle, and we are told that the charge was the same in both cases, i.e. 2d. per head. It has further been stated that the pigs were usually made to cross, first to Ynys-y-Moch, and from there to the Caernarvonshire shore.[3]

It is noteworthy that none of the writers who make reference to the swimming of the cattle make any mention of the pigs. We find them transported in the ferry-boats at Tal-y-foel, and one would have supposed that it would have been much less trouble to carry them over by boat at Porthaethwy. So far as concerns Ynys-y-Moch, if one studies the rock and observes its rugged and broken surface and precipitous sides, one finds it difficult to believe that pigs could ever have been driven across it. One is inclined to attribute the belief that they were so driven to speculations regarding the origin of the rock's name.

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[1] Adeane, p. 297.
[2] Llwyd, *Poems*.
[3] Davies, *Methodistiaeth Porthaethwy*.

The tradition that the pigs had to swim appears, however, to have been widely accepted half-a-century back.[1]

The Porthaethwy ferry-house would appear during these later years, to have catered for the cattle drovers and pig dealers, and for the farmers who frequented the fairs. Also, doubtless, for the coachmen and grooms of those whose carriages could not immediately be ferried over, and who themselves crossed to the George, until such time as all was ready for them to proceed on their way. It would appear that the house was known during the days of the ferry as the "Three Tuns Inn." In Patterson's *Roads*—12th Edition, 1799—we read "Bangor Ferry—George—cross the Menai Strait to the—Three Tuns Inn"; and we find other references to it under this name.[2] Locally there is no knowledge that the old inn ever bore any other name than the Cambria, and there appear to be references to it under this latter name, dating back to 1835.[3]

The Act of Union was passed in 1800, and in the following year the great engineer John Rennie was sent down to survey the Straits and the Conway river, and to prepare designs for bridging them. The country side was immediately in turmoil, once more, and the signing of petitions for and against the proposed bridge became the order of the day. We may quote a letter written by Miss Isa Stanley, daughter of Sir John Thomas Stanley, of Alderley and Penrhos, to her eldest brother's wife, in April, 1802, which well brings out the opposing views and interests.

Miss Stanley writes: "I think I told you that the petitions for the bridges—one over Conway and one over the Menai—were signed by my father. The Carnarvon people are very strongly opposed to this bridge on account of the navigation, which the Bridgeites say will not suffer, as the arch will be sufficiently high to admit vessels at full sail that can pass the heights. Rennie is now surveying the coast. Mr. Assheton Smith strongly opposes the bridge and proposes to move the packets to Porth yn Lleyn in Carnarvonshire. If that harbour is a good one, and if the road is made good, and if I preferred three additional leagues at sea to thirty miles on land, and if I was often going to Ireland, I should vote for it. But, as I am not, I hope Porth yn Lleyn is a bad harbour, that the road cannot be made to it, and that the bridge will be built over the Menai, and the packets remain at Holyhead; for certainly your future property must suffer if the mail coaches, the travellers, and the road are lost."[1]

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[1] Old Mr. Madoc Jones, of the Gorad Goch, used, about this time, to tell visitors that, in the days of the ferry, a nice pig was occasionally included in the catch of the weir.

[2] Laurie and Whittle's *New Traveller's Guide*, 1806, and *The Cambrian Traveller's Guide*, 2nd edition, 1813.

[3] Davies, *Methodistiaeth Porthaethwy*.

The Caernarvon Harbour Trust, which had been constituted in 1793, decides, on 3rd March, 1802, to petition against the bridge, and to invite Mr. Assheton Smith to present its petition. The Trust further resolves "that as the proposed bridge will injure the interest of the Right Hon. Lord Boston in Moelydon and Talyfoel ferries and of the Right Revd. the Lord Bishop of Bangor in Garth and Porth Esgob ferries that their Lordships' be requested to use their influence against the said Bill."

Rennie submitted and recommended a design for a bridge at the "Swelly Rocks," comprising three cast-iron arches, each of 350 feet span and 150 feet above high water in the centre. This was estimated to cost £290,417. He also submitted a design for a single cast-iron arch of 450 feet span and 150 feet high in the centre, at Ynys-y-Moch. The latter was estimated to cost some £31,000 less than the former, but Rennie considered that its construction would be more hazardous and did not recommend it. No serious consideration appears to have been given to Rennie's proposals. The times were troublous, and there is no further talk of bridging the Menai until 1810.

Rennie's Report is accompanied by a Plan of the Straits, extending from "Ynys Madog Coch" to Garth. This shows the road approaches to the ferry on the Caernarvonshire side as in the map published in 1795, but the building above the eastern landing place is now named "The George Inn." On the Anglesey side we have the roads to Holyhead and Cadnant and sundry tracks across the rocky common. The "Ferry House" is shown, and near where Telford's old foundry now stands, some buildings named "Stables." Though not shown on the Plan of the Straits, Rennie's Plan of the Ynys-y-Moch Bridge shows another building which, on the Enclosure Map, made some fourteen years later, is named "Stabel Newydd." This is undoubtedly, after the Cambria, the oldest building still standing in Menai Bridge. We may add that "The Antelope" also figures in this latter plan, upon the Caernarvonshire side.[2]

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[1] Adeane, p. 233. We may note that Mr. Assheton Smith and others obtained, in 1803, a Turnpike Act for a road from Porthdinllaen, which was to be carried across the Traeth Mawr from Cerrig y Rhwydwr to Llanfrothen, and was apparently to proceed by Bala to Corwen. It was to "open a much shorter and a better communication than there is at present." Certain other Caernarvonshire roads were dealt with under the Act, but no more is heard of that across the Traeth Mawr (43 Geo. III, cap. 38).

[2] Rennie's Report and Plans, of 1802, are published in the Second Report from Committee on Holyhead Roads and Harbour, 1810 (Parl. Papers).

A plan made for Mr. John Price (later of Plas Cadnant) in 1804, indicates the dock at Porth-y-Wrach and, a little way to the north-east of it, a long building which we may certainly take to be William Jackson's posting stables, and which still stood until within the last few years in the old timber yard. From here the mail and other coaches started for Holyhead. This plan further shows a building named "Warehouse" close to the shore near the site of the present pier, and also where the Holyhead road emerged from between walls on to the open common, just below Tyddyn-y-To, still another building named "Old turnpike."[1] These are the only buildings in evidence on the Cerrig-y-Borth, during the opening years of the nineteenth century.

We must note in passing the opening, in 1805, of Lord Bulkeley's new road from Beaumaris to Porthaethwy ferry (v.p. 235).

With the year 1808 the *North Wales Gazette* makes its appearance, and from its issue of 14th April of this year we learn that there had been a long-standing dispute between the parish of Llandysilio and the proprietors of the ferry, respecting the liability of the latter to pay poor rate. The question had just been brought to issue at the Caernarvon Assizes, and the judgment was "that the Ferry was liable to pay a regular proportion of poor rates with other properties in the parish." This decision, doubtless, applied to the ferry-house and not to the ferry. Miss Silence Williams's counsel, in 1820, stressed the fact that the ferry paid no poor rate, and it is laid down in law-books that a ferry is not rateable.[2]

On 5th January, 1808, we find Mr. Thomas Spencer, of the Eagle and Child, advertising in the *Gazette* the coaches which set out from his inn. The Royal Mail, by Chester, every morning; The Ancient Briton, by Shrewsbury, every Sunday, Tuesday, and Friday morning; and the Prince of Wales Post Coach, every Monday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Saturday, to Shrewsbury. We find, however, that an unadvertised "day coach" was also plying across Anglesey at this time.

At 1.30 p.m. on 7th September the first Irish Mail, by Shrewsbury and Capel Curig, arrived at Holyhead; and a fall in the yield of the Anglesey turnpike tolls in the following year is explained by the statement that the new mail coach had occasioned the discontinuance of a day coach.[1] The new mail coach does not, however, affect the Ancient Briton, or the Prince of Wales, and, at the close of 1808, we have three through coaches each way daily, transporting their passengers to and from the ferry, two travelling the Shrewsbury road, and one by Conway and Chester. Mr. James Williams's weekly waggons to Chester and Shrewsbury—already referred to under Conway—were also passing their goods across the ferry at this time.

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[1] One of a collection of plans studied by the kind permission of Mr. Forcer Evans, of Llangefni. The turnpike gate had been moved to the far side of Felin Engan, and was now known as the Braint Gate.

[2] Woolrich, *Law of Ways*; Coulson and Forbes, *Law of Waters*.

In 1810 we are given the official "Time Bills" of both the mail coaches. According to these, the Chester mail was due at Bangor ferry at 1 p.m., was allowed one hour "for crossing and dinner," and was due at Holyhead at 5.30 p.m.; a total of 45 hours and 30 minutes from London. The Shrewsbury mail was due at Bangor ferry at 8.12 a.m., was allowed 40 minutes "for crossing, etc.," and was due at Holyhead at 12.22 p.m.; a total of 40 hours and 22 minutes from London. The Parliamentary Committee, before which these time bills are laid, is, however, informed that between 1st January and 27th March, 1810, both coaches had been late in arriving at Holyhead on 71 days, and that the Shrewsbury coach had been from 1 to 3 hours late on 54 days, and from 3 to 5 hours late on two days.[2] When we come to 1815, we find that the Shrewsbury coach is not asked to reach Holyhead before 1.12 p.m., i.e. in 41 hours and 12 minutes from London. The Chester mail coach carried no Irish mails between 1808 and 1820, and the Committee no longer interest themselves in its times.

Despite the traffic they have been carrying, the roads leading down to the ferry, on the Caernarvonshire side, have so far been maintained "by the ordinary course of the law," i.e. by parish labour. In 1810 the Caernarvonshire Turnpike Trust obtains one of its periodical Acts of Parliament, extending its term and enlarging its powers. Among other roads, that "from Rhosgarnedd Common to Bangor Ferry and Penchwintan Finger Post" is now included in the Trust, which is also empowered to place one toll gate upon it.[3] One is inclined to surmise that the little cottage, standing beside the entrance to Belmont (now called Trevonwys), served this purpose.

The first of the Committees on the Holyhead Roads and Harbour is appointed in this year, 1810. Rennie comes before it with his plans of 1801–2, and evidence is taken on the question of the extent to which the navigation of the Straits might be affected. Colonel Peacock enlarges once again upon the drawbacks of the ferry. He regards it as a very dangerous passage when it blows very hard. He has often been detained five hours, and he has twice been prevented from going in his carriage across the ferry, when, owing to the wind and sea, "the boatmen would not upon any account take it over."[1]

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[1] Second Report from Committee on Holyhead Roads and Harbour, 1810, Appendices (Parl. Papers).

[2] Second Report from Committee on Holyhead Roads and Harbour, 1810, Appendices (Parl. Papers).

[3] 50 Geo. III, cap. 52.

In the *North Wales Gazette* of 14th June, 1810, we find the following petition to Parliament printed:—

> "The humble Petition of the Gentry, Clergy and Freeholders of Anglesey
>
> Sheweth
>
> That your Petitioners learn with pleasure, that a proposal has been entertained by your Honorable House for erecting a Bridge over the Straits of Menai.
>
> That the exports of this County consist principally of Cattle, which are either carried over in Boats, or made to Swim across the Straits at great hazard, expense and trouble.
>
> That a great Proportion of the Corn grown in this County is now carried along cross roads to a corner of the County, and thence, transported by a dangerous and uncertain ferry to the Caernarvon Market; whereas were a Bridge constructed . . .
>
> That this County contains an immense body of coal which has hitherto not been thought worth working . . .
>
> That at Porthaethwy, or Bangor Ferry, though it has of late been much improved, the Passenger is frequently liable to long delay, always exposed to inconvenience and sometimes to danger that at all the other Ferries, these disadvantages occur in much greater degree."

They are satisfied that the navigation will not be prejudiced, and

> "They therefore Pray, etc."

The Committee of 1810 recommends the construction of a bridge at the "Swelly Rocks," in accordance with Rennie's plan, but, in May of this year, while the Committee is still sitting and taking evidence, we find the Lords of the Treasury commissioning Telford to report upon the best line of road across North Wales, and upon the bridging of the Menai.

Telford submits his Report to the Committee of 1811. It includes plans for two bridges, one at the "Swilley Rock," and the other at "Ynys y Moch." He recommends the latter, and estimates its cost at £127,331. The design is for a cast-iron arch of 500 feet span, which is to be 100 feet above high-water level in the centre, but 40 feet only at the ends. The building of a bridge to this design is recommended by the Committee, but this is the last we hear of a bridge for seven years. There are committees in 1815, 1816, and 1817, but they concern themselves only with the roads and mail coaches, and with the harbours and packets, and make no recommendations for any bridge.

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[1] Second Report of Committee on Holyhead Roads and Harbour, 1810 (Parl. Papers).

Telford, like Rennie, provides a plan of a part of the Menai Straits. Upon this he marks the lines of the two bridges and of their proposed road approaches. He also shows the existing roads to the ferry, as on Rennie's plan, but colours that leading down by the "George Inn" and shows a "Pier" to the low-water mark, where it reaches the shore.

On the Anglesey side the dock is drawn, but the plan does not indicate a pier, or slipway, extending to the low-water mark. Mr. Jackson's "Stables" figure at the side of the road, and the "Ferry House" and other buildings are shown much as by Rennie.[1]

During these years (1808–1813) Lord William Lennox was, with one of his brothers, at Westminster School, and they used to travel to Dublin for their holidays. Their father, the Duke of Richmond, was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and it was not thought desirable that the boys should travel by the public coach. They were sent, in charge of a tutor, by post-chaise, and Lord William describes one of their journeys. They had to change their chaise two or three times each day, and the entire journey to Dublin took them a week. After having "undergone the horrors of an open boat in crossing the Menai," they reached Holyhead and found Captain Skinner expecting them, and the packet ready to sail "as soon as your lordships are on board."[2]

In March, 1813, Hogg, whom we left setting out after his "vile" breakfast at Conway, is brought by the coach to the Bangor ferry. "Here," he writes, "we were tumbled by rugged Welsh ferrymen, without ceremony, bag and baggage, mail bags and mail baggage, into a large boat: with the accustomed delicacy and attention of mail-coach travelling, of which the leading principle always was—so that the letter bags and guard are safe, the passengers and their effects may go to the devil. The wind and tide were unfavourable, and the channel was rough; we were tossed up and down in our boat, and were a long time in crossing; but the boatmen pulled hard, and we got to shore at last." His experience at Conway is, according to his account, repeated at Holyhead, where they fail to get a decent meal, before being rushed aboard the packet.[1]

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[1] Report from Committee on Holyhead Roads, 1811, Appendix 2 (Parl. Papers). This appears to be the last map or plan, in which the road leading up from the point where the road from Rhosgarnedd reaches the shore to Penchwintan, figures. A search of the Quarter Session Records might reveal a "Closing Order," possibly in 1817, following the construction of the road along the shore, between the two landing places.

[2] Lennox, *Reminiscences*, Vol. I, pp. 84–7.

We are told, during one of the early years of the century, of a military officer who, as "being on his Majesty's service," declined to pay the ferriage. We learn further, however, that "by the order of a magistrate, his gig was stopped until he paid the money for this and former passages."

The same writer informs us that Mr. Jackson has lately made great improvements to the Bangor Ferry Inn and its grounds, and that in addition to the many travellers to and from Ireland, it is much frequented during the summer months by parties of visitors to North Wales.[2]

Mr. Jackson had his stables each side of the Straits. He provided horses for many of those travelling in their own carriages, kept post chaises for hire, and horsed the mail and other coaches. We find a visitor, in 1815, much impressed by the way in which orders for horses to be made ready were passed across the Straits, to and from the George, by speaking trumpet.[3] Mr. Jackson also appears to have been in partnership with Mr. Thomas Spencer, of the Eagle and Child, in the post coach Prince Regent, plying between Holyhead and Shrewsbury, in 1815, and for many years subsequently.[4]

There were still, in 1815, but three through coaches passing their passengers across the ferry daily, viz. the two mails and the Prince Regent. In September of this year, however, Mr. Thomas Moran, of the Hibernian Hotel, Holyhead, is one of a group of innkeepers who start the "Light Post Coach Prince of Wales," to run between Holyhead and Shrewsbury in opposition to the Prince Regent, and we now have three coaches plying along the Shrewsbury road.[1]

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[1] Hogg, *Shelley*, Vol. I, p. 395. Hogg's account was written forty-two years after the date of this journey. In view of the definite statements submitted to the Parliamentary Committee (referred to under Conway), showing that the Chester coach carried no mails further than Bangor, at this time, and that the packet sailed upon the arrival of the Shrewsbury coach, several hours before the Chester coach was due, we need not perhaps take Hogg's statements too seriously.

[2] Pugh, *Cambria Depicta*, p. 78 and p. 93.

[3] *Bye-Gones*, 20th September, 1899.

[4] The firm is "W. Jackson & T. Spencer & Co." V. *N.W.G.*, 13th May, 1819.

In 1816, Telford is at work improving the roads across North Wales, and on 5th August reports that he has just marked out the new line between Bangor and the ferry. This line passed over land belonging to the Bishop, near the ferry, and then traversed two fields and ran along the base of a coppice belonging to Mr. Assheton Smith. A little later we find that the work is held up. Mr. Assheton Smith will not permit the road to cross his land, and he is writing indignant letters regarding the waste of public money, and stating that the gentlemen from Ireland will not be satisfied till enormous sums have been spent. Eventually, after a delay of a couple of months, he is induced to withdraw his opposition, and W. A. Provis is able to report on 27th January, 1817, that "The Irish Members have all travelled the new Road between Bangor Ferry and the City."[2]

Telford, at this time, effected several improvements at the Caernarvonshire side of the ferry. The width of the descent to the pier was increased from 13 feet to 20 feet, and a new breast wall was built. The north side of the pier was reconstructed, the width of the pier being increased by 6 feet. This work had been completed by May, 1817, when it is stated that "about 200 yards along the shore between the Landing Piers remains to be improved."[3]

In 1817, Telford's proposals for a suspension bridge at Runcorn were exciting widespread interest, and he was instructed to consider the suitability of such a bridge for the Menai Straits. Early in 1818 he submitted a design for a suspension bridge at Ynys-y-Moch. This was approved and funds for the commencement of the work were voted, and during the summer of 1818 operations of a preparatory nature were put in hand.[4]

In September, 1818, a survey of a part of the Straits is made, in connection with Telford's proposals for improving the navigation, by cutting away some of the rocks in the Swillies This survey provides us with a plan of the approaches and landing places of the ferry during its last busy years.

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[1] Second Report of Select Committee on Holyhead Roads, 1815 (Parl. Papers), and *N.W.G.*, 31st August and 21st September, 1815.

[2] Office of Works, Miscellanea, Vol. 69, Letters, 1815–1818, pp. 86 to 226.

[3] "An Historical and Descriptive Account of the Suspension Bridge constructed over the Menai Straits." W. A. Provis. 1828.

[4] Provis, *Suspension Bridge.*

There is now no direct road to Penchwintan, from the point where the Caernarvon road reaches the shore, but instead we have the road along the shore to the landing pier below the George. The new road to Bangor is now shown as in later times, with the old road branching out of it on the right. On the Anglesey side the old pier, below the ferry-house, is shown extending to the low-water mark. Porth-y-Wrach figures prominently, and the eastward side of the dock is extended, as a broad pier, to below low-water mark. A roadway leads from Carreg yr Halen along the shore to connect with the main road at Porth-y-Wrach, and a special road leads down to the level beach at Porth Daniel, where boats doubtless discharged their cargoes into carts at low water. The ferry-house and the coaching stables are shown, and several other small buildings scattered about the common.[1]

Though Telford, in connection with his new road from Bangor, effected considerable improvements on the Caernarvonshire side of the ferry, he does not appear to have done anything on the Anglesey side.

The Llandysilio Enclosure Act bears the date 17th June, 1814. It enacts that the Commissioner is not "to set out, divide, allot, enclose, or sell any Part or Parts of the said Commonable Lands and Waste Grounds . . . which lie along or upon the Bank or Shore of the Straights of Menai, between a certain Creek, Haven, or Landing Place called Carreg-y'r-Halen, and a certain other Creek, Haven or Landing Place called Ynys Faelog, or which lir between the said Straights and the King's Highway leading from the said Creek, Haven, or Landing Place called Carreg-y'r-Halen to the said other Creek Haven or Landing Place called Ynys Faelog."[2]

The Act was passed at a time when the continued existence of the ferry did not appear to be threatened, but, for various reasons, the Award was not finally made until 1827, after the ferry had ended its days. The Award makes no mention of the lands with which the Commissioner is forbidden to interfere, but the "Map of Allotments," bearing the date 1827, but apparently made in 1815, shows the strips of land between the Straits and the road, from Carreg yr Halen eastward, as "Reserved for the Ferry." This map shows a road leaving the main road opposite the coaching stables, by the side of that leading to Porth Daniel and passing the warehouse, referred to above, and eventually crossing to Ynys Faelog and extending across its south-western side. No part of this road appears to have been made up to 1827. All references to it, in the Award, are to the "Proposed road to Ynys Faelog."

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[1] "Papers relating to the Building a Bridge over the Menai Strait." Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 18th February, 1819 (Parl. Papers).

The road along the Caernarvonshire shore figures in the Ordnance Survey Map of 1841, and the large squared blocks of stone, which had formed its breast wall, remained in position, practically throughout its length, until after 1880, but have nearly all disappeared by the present day.

[2] 54 Geo. III, cap. 161. "An Act for inclosing Lands in the Parishes of Llandisilio and Llaneilian in the County of Anglesea" (17th June, 1814). Regarding the date of the Allotment Map, we may note that there are plans of the "Allotments on Cerrig y Borth" of Mr. John Price and of Mrs. Price, which bear the date 1815, and appear to be copied from the official map. The "Proposed road" leading to and across Ynys Faelog, figures on these plans, as on the Allotment Map. These plans have been studied by kind permission of Mr. Forcer Evans.

No evidence has been found indicating that Ynys Faelog ever served as a landing place for the ferry, but we must assume that the proprietors of the ferry proposed, in 1814, to form a landing place there and to construct a proper road to it.

Returning once more to the proprietors of the ferry, we find that Mr. Holland Williams, of Pwllycrochan, died in October, 1799, and that his interest in the ferry, presumably, passed to his brother, the Revd. Robert Williams, Rector of Llanelidan. The latter died in 1809, leaving an only child, Jane Silence,[1] who was still a minor in 1820, when the Holyhead Road Commissioners opened the question of the compensation to be paid for the surrender of the ferry. Miss Williams's trustees declined the responsibility for coming to terms with the Commissioners, and the question came before the Under-Sheriff of Anglesey and a Special Jury on 29th March, 1820.

Counsel for Miss Williams, in opening her case, stated that this was a compulsory purchase of property which had been in the family for almost two hundred years, and which was increasing in value. There had been a great increase in the receipts in the previous year and this increase was likely to continue owing to the improvement of the roads and to the establishing of steam-boats at Holyhead. In this property there was "constant payment—no arrears—no bad tenants—no advances of capital—small outgoings—no poor rates." To secure Miss Williams's income to her, the purchase money should be laid out in land, and he would prove that the value of land in England and Wales was from thirty to thirty-five years' purchase.

Mr. Rowland Williams, one of the trustees, was called, and "proved the gross receipt of Tolls for the last eleven years, with the outgoings for repairs of Boats and Ferrymen's wages and the particular Tolls taken—the net receipts varying from £850 to £950 per annum."

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[1] Griffith, *Pedigrees*, p. 341.

Evidence of a general character is given regarding the increase in travelling during the previous year, and the probability of further increase in future years; and several witnesses testify to sales of land, at thirty years' purchase and upwards.

For the Crown the Attorney General submitted that Miss Williams should be treated with liberality, but not profusion. The property should not be compared to land, but to canal shares. The travelling into this county might cease, or be considerably lessened by the packet station being removed from Holyhead to some port in Caernarvonshire, and steam boats were a very precarious concern, and should not at all be relied on.

The amount awarded by the special jury, of which Sir W. B. Hughes was foreman, was £26,394 7s. 6d. The purchase money, we are told, was not to be paid for four years, or until after the opening of the bridge.[1]

Miss Silence Williams married Sir David Erskine in 1821,[2] and the money was paid on 13th May, 1826.[3] The family had not done badly out of Thomas Williams's investment of £100, in 1630.

In April, 1819, arrangements are made for the mail coach to run from London to Holyhead in thirty-six hours, thus arriving at 8 a.m. on the second day. For many years there have been serious complaints about the road across Anglesey, and as early as 1810 Telford had recommended that an entirely new line should be constructed; but so far nothing has been done. The mail coach is now travelling from Porthaethwy to Holyhead in three hours and ten minutes, but according to the Select Committee's Report "at the risk of the lives of those who go by it." We are told that the mail is crossing Anglesey at the rate of between seven and eight miles an hour, "while the ordinary rate of travelling with four post horses is not five miles an hour." Telford had resurveyed his proposed line, during the preceding year, and the Committee now urges that the requisite funds should be made available. Parliamentary sanction for the construction of this road is obtained while this Committee is still sitting, and the work would appear to have commenced shortly afterwards.[1]

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[1] *N.W.G.*, 13th April, 1820.

[2] Griffith, *Pedigrees*.

[3] Office of Works, Records at Office of Works (Shrewsbury and Holyhead Road, 1789–1861, p. 8).

During this year, 1819, we also have the new Manchester and Liverpool mail coach, coming from Chester by Llangollen and Capel Curig, and due at Holyhead at the same time as the London coach. The old Chester mail coach still runs, arriving some six hours later, so that, with the Prince Regent and the Prince of Wales, we now have five through coaches crossing Anglesey daily, each way. In 1820, however, the new mail coach is taken off, and the Chester coach, running along the coast, now carries the Liverpool and Manchester mails, leaving Chester at six p.m. instead of midnight, and being due at Holyhead at 8 a.m. This arrangement never gives satisfaction. The roads which the London coach traverses are being continuously improved, and we find repeated complaints that the packets are delayed waiting for the Chester coach.[2]

During the summer of 1819 the first steam packet crosses the channel from Holyhead. This is being run by a private company in competition, so far as passengers are concerned, with the mail packets; and this company puts on a second steamer, in 1820. There is a heavy drop, during this latter year, in the number of passengers carried by the mail packets and, in 1821, the Post Office establishes its own steam packets and the private company withdraws.[3]

By the end of May, 1822, the new road across Anglesey has been opened as far as the turning to the Four Mile Bridge, and has been connected with the ferry by the road now called Dale Street. Mona has been built to take the place of Gwindy as the half-way house, and all the Irish traffic is now passing along the new road. The new Post Office steam packets are now crossing in the average time of seven-and-a-half hours, as against the average fifteen hours of the sailing packets; and these new packets carry over, during this year, a total—both ways included—of 15,021 passengers, 708 carriages, and 367 horses.[4]

In 1823 the London mail was arriving at the ferry about 1 a.m., and the Chester mail about two hours later. Besides the two mails, there were at least three public coaches running to and from Holyhead, one of which now ran by Conway to Chester.[1] The Post Office packets this year transported 18,876 passengers, 765 carriages, and 486 horses.[2]

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[1] Second, Fifth, and Sixth Reports of Select Committee on Holyhead Roads, 1819 (Parl. Papers).

[2] Fifth Report of Select Committee, 1819; First Report of Select Committee, 1820; and *N.W.G.*, Advertisements.

[3] Fifth Report of Select Committee on Holyhead Roads, 1822, App. 1 and 3. Also Watson, *Royal Mail to Ireland.*

[4] First Report of Select Committee on Holyhead Roads, 1822, App. 1, and Parliamentary Papers, 1824, XVIII (Holyhead Steam Packets).

In 1824 the record number is reached, viz. 18,970 passengers, 817 carriages, and 371 horses.[3]

In June, 1824, we find Mr. Freeman and a friend at the George Hotel, and retiring to rest after dinner, in the hope of being able to get to Holyhead by the Chester mail. "We were dressed and without doors before the hour of three," writes Mr. Freeman, "and in a few minutes the mail arrived. Fortunately for our intentions, there were two outside places vacant, which we engaged to Holyhead. We crossed the Straits in the mail boat, and walking about fifty yards, found another coach and coachman, with four excellent bay horses ready for the journey. Our course was rapid; we started from the water side about twenty minutes past three, and before the clock struck six we were in Holyhead." On the occasion of another visit in the following year, Mr. Freeman states that he had been told by the guards that in the best weather they could not get from the Bangor ferry-house to the opposite side, reload the other mail and set off under twenty minutes. He, on this occasion, remarks upon the great traffic across the ferry, which is "in daily use by the mails, by travellers of all kinds and their carriages, by horses and cattle, and also for the export of grain."[4]

In 1825 the number of passengers crossing to and from Holyhead falls to 17,638, but the number of carriages increases to 915, and of horses to 657.[5] We may note that this number of carriages, the highest recorded, amounts to no more than an average of about 1¼ daily, each way, round the year. But the nobility and gentry seem to have done most of their travelling at certain seasons, and, at these times, the number of private coaches and carriages crossing the ferry would doubtless be considerable. We find the *North Wales Gazette*, on 2nd August, 1821, just before King George IV's visit to Ireland, stating that "the passing of the carriages of the nobility through this City to Ireland yesterday formed almost a procession." We are, unfortunately, not told how the ferry coped with the situation. Anglesey families and their visitors would doubtless add to the number of the coaches crossing the ferry, but, with the exception of Colonel Peacock, they are not in evidence.

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[1] *N.W.G.*, Advertisement. The Aurora referred to under Conway now ran from Holyhead to Chester and not from Caernarvon.

[2] Parliamentary Papers, 1824, XVIII.

[3] Parliamentary Papers, 1825, XXII.

[4] Freeman, *Wales*.

[5] Parliamentary Papers, 1826, XXIII.

In June, 1822, the first steam packet, the Albion, commenced running from Liverpool to Bangor ferry, calling off Beaumaris and Garth on her way. In August a second packet, the Prince Llewelyn, of the Liverpool and North Wales Steam Packet Company (later the St. George's Packet Company), started in opposition. These Liverpool packets brought a great influx of visitors into these parts and added considerably to the activities at the ferry.

In 1823 we find a number of coaches coming to connect with the packets in the morning and returning after the arrival of the packets in the evening. The Pilot comes from the Goat Inn, at Caernarvon, and another "Post Coach and Four" comes from Mr. Betiss's "The Hotel," at Caernarvon. The Morning Star leaves the Royal Hotel at Holyhead, Mr. Spencer's present house, at 5 a.m. and, running along the old road, is due at Beaumaris at 9 a.m. in time for the Liverpool steamer. Lastly, we have the Marquis of Anglesey leaving the Freemasons' Arms, Amlwch, every morning, Sundays excepted, at 4 a.m., and running by Lanerchymedd and Llangefni to Bangor Ferry, the "First Coach ever established on this line of road." The *North Wales Gazette*, of 29th July, 1824, is very appreciative of the benefits derived from the packets, and states that to them "with their splendid accommodation is this country mainly indebted for the vast increase in wealth that is now circulating in every part of it." Few events, it would appear, ever contributed more markedly to the prosperity of these parts than did the establishment of steam communication with Liverpool at this time. In addition to the comfort of their accommodation—in fine weather at least—the packets were, in 1823, running from Liverpool to Bangor ferry in about six hours, as against the nine hours from Chester to Bangor of the mail coach, and the eleven hours of the post coach Aurora.

By July, 1825, the chains of the bridge were all in position and the construction of the roadway had been commenced. During this year the approach road on the Anglesey side, connecting the bridge with the Holyhead road, was made "across the rocky planted ground of the Marquis of Anglesey." Connection between the southern end of the bridge and the new road between the ferry and Bangor was also established "along the beautiful bank below Gorphwysfa."[1] In regard to the latter, we also learn that O. A. Poole, Esq., the owner at the time, was to receive £1,100 as damages "for cutting the lawn and garden in front of his house."[1] During this year the Bangor ferrymen, like those at Conway, lodge a petition for compensation, consideration of which is deferred until after the opening of the Bridge.[2]

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[1] Provis, *Suspension Bridge,* App. 6, and p. 70.

The Menai Bridge was opened on the morning of Monday, 30th January, 1826. The London mail coach led the way over, about 1 a.m. The Chester coach followed, about two hours later, and numerous coaches and carriages and many thousands of people crossed later in the day. The *North Wales Gazette* tells us that flags were flying from every part of the bridge, that a band was playing, that cannon were fired at intervals, and that there was a dinner at the Bangor Ferry Inn. Thus, amidst universal rejoicing, the Porthaethwy ferry comes to its end.

In the same issue of the *Gazette* Mr. William Jackson returns thanks "to the Nobility and Gentry, for their very liberal support during the long period of fifty years; and trusts that his endeavours, during that long lapse of time, for their accommodation and comfort, whilst encountering the difficulties and inconveniences of a Ferry, will not be forgotten, now the completion of the Menai Bridge has afforded the opportunity for other establishments to oppose him.[3]

A writer in 1821 expresses the opinion that when the Menai and Conway bridges have been erected, "but few passengers will run the risk of a dilatory and dangerous passage by Liverpool, or Parkgate, when they may have a certain and safe one by Holyhead, with excellent roads and accommodation; and without the trouble of the ferries.'[1] This was, doubtless, the general belief at the time when it was written, but the substitution of the steam packet for the sailing packet, during the succeeding years, effected a very great change in the position.

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[1] Further Estimates and Miscellaneous Services, 1823. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 4th June, 1823 (Parl. Papers).

[2] Office of Works, Miscellanea, Vol. 81, p. 75. Outcome not traced.

[3] *N.W.G.*, 2nd February, 1826. The establishment to which Mr. Jackson principally refers is, doubtless, the Penrhyn Arms. Bingley (1798–1801) described this as "elegant in taste and beautifully situated but not large enough for general accommodation." Freeman, in 1824, refers to its as "the new and great hotel perched on a steep bank near the entrance to the town." The Penrhyn Arms does not figure as one of the calling places for the coaches, in the days before the Bridge. The great coaching inn in Bangor was the Albion, opposite the Cathedral, and in close proximity to the Post Office. The two mail coaches called here, as did the coaches of the Spencer combine, and a day coach plied between the Albion and Caernarvon. A new mail coach to Pwllheli, established apparently in 1823, also ran from the Albion. Moran's coach, in 1815, patronised the Mitre, opposite the old Friars School; but in 1823 made the Castle its stopping place, as did a second day coach to and from Caernarvon. Mr. Jackson's partnership with Thomas Spencer is dissolved, in June 1826, and we subsequently find that the London coach Oxonian, which had replaced the earlier Prince Regent, is advertised as setting out from the Penrhyn Arms. The above-mentioned inns, and the Post Office, all figure in John Wood's *Plan of Bangor*, published in 1834.

So far as Parkgate was concerned, it appears to have ended its days as a packet station, in 1820, through the silting up of the Dee.[2] From Liverpool, on the other hand, the St. George Steam Packet Company opened its service to Dublin, in 1822, and the City of Dublin Company, in 1824. The journey to Dublin by these packets was many hours shorter and much less costly than that by Chester and Holyhead, and before the Menai Bridge was opened a considerable number of travellers were giving preference to the Liverpool route. In addition to the packets of these two companies, the Post Office now places its own mail packets on the Liverpool station. These commence running in August, 1826,[3] and thus it comes about that the passengers crossing to and from Holyhead, in 1826, during eleven months of which the Menai Bridge is open, number no more than 14,413; and this number diminishes each succeeding year until, in 1831, it is only 9,020, less than one-half of the figure for 1823 or 1824.[4] More passengers, to and from Ireland, crossed the Porthaethwy ferry during its later years than ever in any year crossed the great Menai Bridge, specially provided for their convenience.[5]

5. THE PORTHESGOB AND GARTH FERRIES FROM 1650 ONWARDS

We are without any records of the Porthesgob ferry for a long period after 1650, but we are told by Browne Willis that all, of which the Bishop had been deprived, was restored to him, in 1660. We may observe in regard to the same writer's statement, that the Bishop's Manors, and the "Ferries of Borthwe and Cadnant," had been bestowed upon Anian by Edward I,[6] that the Bishop's ferries, like all the other ferries on the Straits, were known by the names of their Anglesey landing places throughout the greater part of the eighteenth century.

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[1] *Cambrian Tourist*, 5th (1821) edition, p. 308.

[2] Sulley, *Wirral*, p. 179.

[3] Kennedy, *Steam Navigation*, Chap. VIII.

[4] Parliamentary Papers, 1831/2, XVII. Report from Select Committee on Post Communications with Ireland, Appendix No. 34.

[5] There may be a question in respect to the period between May, 1848, and March, 1850, during which passengers were travelling by the Chester and Holyhead Railway, and passing between Bangor and Llanfair P.G. by road, pending the completion of the Britannia Bridge. Parry's *Railway Companion from Chester to Holyhead,* 1848, and Clerk, *Bridges*, Vol. II, p. 709.

[6] Willis, *Bangor*, pp. 114 and 68.

We find that from early in the eighteenth century the Cadnant ferry has been leased to the holders of the Porthaethwy ferry. The crossing from Garth to Borthwen was not, however, included in these leases, but appears to have been let annually to the parties who actually worked it.

On 1st September, 1746, "Mathew Lord Bishop" leases to "Thomas Williams of Borth in the County of Anglesea Gent . . . All that fferry or passage by water over the River Menai commonly called and known by the Name of Cadnant fferry leading from the parish of Bangor in the County of Carnarvon to the parish of Llandegfan in the County of Anglesea, now or late in the holding of the said Thomas Williams his Undertenants or Assigns." The lease is for twenty-one years. The annual rent is ten shillings only, and there is no covenant to transport the Bishop.[1]

This lease terminated in 1767, and was not renewed. The ferry appears to have been worked for a time by a certain "Harry Griffith Boatman," and then Bishop Ewer comes upon the scene, builds his £300 house at Cae'r Glowr, and in September, 1771, leases Cae'r Glowr and the Porthesgob ferry, to his son-in-law, Henry Scourfield. Legal proceedings follow, as noted under Porthaethwy, and we have the statement, a few years later, by Bishop Moore's secretary, that "the Ferry is now discontinued as within the Limits assigned it is of no value" (v.p. 247).

The history of the Porthesgob ferry, from Bishop Glyn's day onward, seems to indicate fairly clearly that it was worth more when worked in conjunction with the Porthaethwy ferry than when worked independently. During the eighteenth century, however, the proprietors of the Porthaethwy ferry will, apparently, pay no more than a rent of ten shillings for Porthesgob, so that it is not surprising if no one else would farm it.

Beyond a passing reference, in the Books of the Caernarvon Harbour Trust, in March, 1802, when the Lord Bishop is asked to use his influence against Rennie's proposals for a bridge across the Straits on the ground that his lordship's interests "in Garth and Porth Esgob ferries" will suffer, we have met with no further mention of the ferry until 1815.

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[1] Welsh Church MSS. (N.L.W.), Register of Leases, No. 102, p. 25. Thomas Williams would be the nephew, or grand-nephew, of Coningsby Williams; v. Griffith, *Pedigrees*.

In this year, 1815, there is leased to John Roberts, of Bangor, and six others, for a term of twenty-one years, "All that Ferry or Passage . . . called and known by the name of PorthEsgob formerly in Lease to Henry Scourfield Esq. . . . and all that Weir or Fishery commonly called and known by the name Gorad Gut Fishery situate and being upon the Beach . . . at or near Storws Nantporth . . . and also All that Messuage or Dwelling House with the Sheds Quay Buildings and Premises on the Common or Waste Ground . . . adjoining the end of the said Weir." The lessees are to pay an annual rent of £2 10s. 0d., and they covenant that they will "convey and transport over the said fferry or passage him the said Henry William Lord Bishop of Bangor and his Successors his and their Servants without any fee or gratuity or compensation whatsoever."[1]

This lease is renewed in 1822, and again in 1829, after which no further mention of Porthesgob has been found. One is inclined to question whether the inclusion of the ferry signifies much more than a desire to keep it nominally in existence. The last renewal is made more than three years after the opening of the Menai Bridge, and as regards the covenant to transport the Bishop, we may note that, in certain "Accounts of John Hughes," presumably the Bishop's Agent, we find, in 1822, and the two following years, the entry, "Paid your Lordship's Subscription Bangor Ferry 5s."[2]

The situation of Porthesgob, and its approaches, upon both sides of the Straits have been dealt with above (v. pp. 136–7).

As we found mention of the old Gorad -y-Git, in connection with Porthesgob, as early as 1588, we may perhaps note that it ended its career in 1852. It was leased, in this year, to the Messrs. Daniel and Jonathan Russell,[3] who designed to utilise the mud flats as oyster beds. They removed the stakes and formed a series of banks of stone for the protection of their oysters, and did not apparently confine themselves within the limits of the weir. A Memorial was sent to the Admiralty by the owners and masters of the coasting schooners which used to anchor upon these mud flats in considerable numbers, during contrary winds or stormy weather. An official inquiry was held, and criminal proceedings were taken against Mr. Jonathan Russell at the Caernarvon Spring Assizes in 1854. He was acquitted, but the Admiralty were not prepared to accept their defeat, and there was talk of a new trial.[1] The new trial does not appear to have been held, but we learn a little later that the Russells had been compelled to abandon their enterprise.[2] Their banks of stone, however, still remain.

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[1] Welsh Church MSS. (N.L.W.), No. 105. "Entry Book of Leases."

[2] Welsh Church MSS. (N.L.W.), No. 86.

[3] *Ibid.*, No. 96.

The Garth ferry of the eighteenth century appears to have been run on very modest lines. We are told, in 1798, that the ferry was worked by an old woman, 60 years of age, whose name was Grace Parry, but who was commonly called Gras-y-Garth; that she had succeeded her father and mother, who had lived at the same little cottage where Gras-y-Garth still had her abode, and that between them they had worked the ferry for the greater part of the past century. We are also told that Gras-y-Garth's boat was no more than twelve, or thirteen, feet on the keel.[3]

Six years earlier a writer incidentally remarks that "when the boat-woman at Garth, near Bangor, blows her concha in a silent morning, the mountains repeat the sound at a surprising distance."[4] At this time, and for the next forty years, the Garth ferry was only approached, on the Bangor side, by foot paths through fields, or woods; so Grace Parry's "concha" doubtless played a useful part in hurrying up passengers for the ferry.

Grace Parry was succeeded at some date prior to 1815 by John Jones, who, as Jack-y-Garth, was widely known and respected. A miniature represents him as immensely stout and broad, and as standing up to his knees in water, ready to give a passenger a back ashore.[5] He lived in the same little cottage at the foot of the steep path leading down from Llandegfan, and which figures as "Y Borth Wen Ferry House," in the Ordnance Survey of 1816–1823. He died in 1837, and we are told that fifteen boats escorted his remains across the Straits, and that between four and five hundred people were present at his burial in the Cathedral churchyard.[6]

There are plans of the land immediately adjoining the ferry landing on the Anglesey side, dated 1804 and 1815 respectively. In both a weir is shown immediately to the westward of the landing place below the little cottage. Lord Bulkeley's new road has made its appearance in the plan of 1815, cutting through the holding earlier named Borthwen Bach. John Jones now figures as the tenant of the portion below the new road to which the name Borth has been attached, and also of the weir. No pier, or slipway, is indicated.[1]

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[1] Parliamentary Accounts and Papers, 1854, Vol. 42, Paper 110, and L.J.R., Vol. 23, Parts 2 and 3. "Regina *v.* Russell."

[2] *N.W.C.*, 17th April, 1858.

[3] Warner, *Second Walk*, p. 276.

[4] Owen, *Caernarvonshire*, p. 47.

[5] In the possession of the late Mr. J. E. Griffith.

[6] *N.W.C.*, 14th November, 1837.

The later plan shows a house of some little size, upon the upper side of the Beaumaris road, just to the eastward of Borth, and on land belonging to Lord Bulkeley. From opposite this house a new approach to the ferry figures, cutting obliquely across John Jones' holding. This house, probably the first to be built on the new road, appears in its early days at least to have been more or less associated with the ferry. Among the "Attractions of Bangor" enlarged upon in the *North Wales Gazette* of 2nd June, 1808, we find mentioned, an excursion "through the woods to Garth where a boat plyes to Lord Bulkeley's road to Beaumaris, where his Lordship has built a house in the castellated style, for the resort of passengers in case of inclemency of weather." This house bears a somewhat elaborate inscription, in fourteen lines, and still fairly legible. This reads as follows :—

> "This Line of Road — From Beaumaris — To the Ferry of Porthaethwy — Planned by the Direction — And executed at the Expense — of — Thomas James Warren Bulkeley — Viscount Bulkeley — And of Elizabeth Harriet — Viscountess Bulkeley — Consort — Was begun in 1804 and completed — in 1805 — Siste Viator et Circumspice."

The earliest landing pier in connection with the Garth ferry was the old causeway, the remains of which still stretch across the mud to the westward of the present pier. It is indicated by a line of dots extending from "Trwyn y Garth" to the low-water mark, in the Ordnance Survey of 1816–1823 ; but the date of its construction has not been ascertained. The stone jetty on the Anglesey side, and that on the Bangor side, the latter serviceable at high water only, have been first met with on a chart of 1835,[2] but may have been erected some years earlier. Steam packets commenced running between Liverpool and Bangor Ferry in 1822, and appear to have stopped off Beaumaris and Garth, to land and pick up passengers, from the first ;[3] and a Rental shows that John Jones's rent, for the Garth ferry, was raised from £7 to £10, in 1824,[1] possibly indicating that increased facilities had been provided for him at this date. The rent still stands at £10 in 1858.

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[1] These plans appear to have been made for Mr. John Price, later of Plas Cadnant, and have been studied by the kind permission of Mr. Forcer Evans.

[2] *Survey of the Coast of North Wales*, by Lieut. C. G. Robinson, R.N. Executed 1835.

[3] *N.W.G.*, 20th June and 8th August, 1822, and 10th and 17th April, 1823.

Very important developments took place at Bangor during 1833, and the following year, through the laying out of the Penrallt Estate. The *Chronicle*, of 11th June, 1833, tells of the cutting of a new road on Garth Hill, and a week later states that "A carriage way leading from an angle in the great Holyhead Road hard by Four Crosses to the landing place at Garth Point has been almost completely cut within the last month." The chart of 1835, referred to above, shows the three road approaches to Garth Point, as they exist at the present day. We may thus safely assume that before John Jones's death, in 1837, the traffic across the Garth ferry had very greatly increased. We are even told, at this time, that the ferry is "now the principal ferry over the Menai Strait, by which the distance from Beaumaris to Bangor is reduced to three miles."[2]

After John Jones's death his widow appears to have held the ferry for a time, and then Mr. Thomas Morgan, who had married John Jones's daughter, became the tenant.[3]

During 1857 we several times find references, in the *North Wales Chronicle*, to the long-desired improvements to the Garth ferry, which are now being planned by Mr. Morgan. On 17th October we are told that these improvements are nearly completed, and that "a long wooden pier somewhere about four hundred yards in length" has been constructed in lieu of the old causeway; and that "Passengers can now land upon it, and embark at the lowest ebb, with comparative ease and comfort, instead of having to trudge, often in water up to the ankles, along a rough, broken, muddy road, slippery from seaweed." It had been earlier stated (10th July) that the Ecclesiastical Commissioners and the Lords of the Admiralty had given their consent to the construction of the pier subject to a stipulation that the old causeway should be removed. This removal does not appear, however, to have been more than partially affected.[4]

Mr. Morgan, in constructing his pier, in 1857, must have done so under a covenant with the Bishop. It is not until 6th August, 1858, that he is granted a lease of the Garth Ferry, with its approaches and landing places, and also of a messuage called Tyddyn-y-Garth. We learn from the lease that Mr. Morgan had, up to this time, been a tenant, from year to year, at a rent of £10 per annum; that he desired to improve the ferry by constructing a wooden jetty to the low-water mark, and to erect dwellings for some of his men upon the messuage; also, that he was prepared to spend £500 upon these improvements. He is granted a lease for sixty years, at a rent of £10 for the first thirty-three years, and of £15 subsequently, upon the condition that he expends £500 as above.[1]

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[1] Welsh Church MSS. (N.L.W.), No. 86, Rental, 1821–4.

[2] Lewis, *Top. Dict.*

[3] Information kindly supplied by Mr. J. H. Morgan, of Cadnant.

[4] Mr. Morgan subsequently substituted an iron pier for the wooden one.

Mr. Morgan also takes a lease from "Tredwell and Ors" of a cottage and waiting room at Garth. He raises his £500 by means of a mortgage which we later find is paid off in 1875. The reversion of the cottage and waiting room is conveyed to him in 1864.[1]

The date of the erection of the Gazelle Inn, adjoining the earlier little ferry house on the Anglesey side, has not been ascertained. We later learn that it was the property of Mrs. Schwabe, of Glyn Garth, and was held by Mr. Morgan at a rent of £30 per annum.[1]

Many still living remember the flourishing Garth Ferry, of the seventies and eighties of last century, with its large rowing boats and fine sailing boats, one of which, the Miss Evelyn, had a cabin in her bows. The traffic between Bangor and Beaumaris led at this time to the establishment of a stand for hackney carriages on the Beaumaris road, above the ferry, and the Turnpike Trustees found it worth their while to erect a new toll-gate, east of the ferry, to tap this traffic.

Mr. Thomas Morgan died in November, 1888, and was succeeded by his son William.

On 9th September, 1894, Mr. William Morgan conveyed his interest in the ferry to the Bangor Corporation, now about to construct their pier at Garth, for £4,450. The conveyance included the freehold land, cottage and waiting room, at Garth Point; also all the interest of the vendor, except furniture, etc., in the Gazelle Inn, held on lease from Mrs. Salis Schwabe; and also all boats and gear. The Ecclesiastical Commissioners agreed to and were parties to this conveyance of Mr. Morgan's interest in the ferry.

On 14th December, 1895, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners conveyed to the Corporation, for the sum of £1,475, certain lands and right of ferry at Bangor, being formerly part of the possessions of the Bishop, in right of his See. Finally, in July, 1896, the Corporation acquired the Gazelle Inn from Mrs. Schwabe.

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[1] Garth Ferry Deeds in possession of the Bangor Corporation, studied by the kind permission of the Town Clerk.

From this time on the ferry-boats have plied from the pier-head. The old rowing and sailing boats were, in due course, displaced by motor boats, and for many years the Corporation had no cause to regret its acquisition of the ferry. But it is a long way out to the end of the pier, and motor omnibuses now run to Beaumaris from the centre of the town, with the result that the traffic across the ferry has very seriously diminished.

In the preamble to the Bangor Corporation Act, 1938, we read that "Whereas in consequence of omnibus competition and for other reasons the user by the members of the public of the said ferry has substantially decreased;

And whereas the Corporation are under obligation to maintain the same and further capital expenditure is required in connection therewith;

And whereas the Corporation have been unable for many years to operate the said ferry otherwise than at a loss;"

Henceforward under the provisions of this Act, the Corporation may, during November, December, January, and February in any year discontinue or reduce the service of the ferry. They undertake, however, if requested to do so by the Caernarvonshire or the Anglesey County Council, to "resume the full working of the ferry at any time when the Menai Suspension Bridge shall be closed to traffic or in any emergency requiring the facilities of the ferry for the public."

The Corporation is empowered under this Act to sell its pier undertaking, but "The sale of the pier undertaking shall not in any way affect the obligations of the Corporation imposed on them in respect of the ferry by the Act of 1894 and this Act."

We thus find that the opening of the Menai Suspension Bridge did not prejudice the Garth ferry. Its flourishing days came at a later date. It is the substitution of the motor for the horse-drawn vehicle which has of recent years deprived it of so much of its traffic.

Note.—Under the Bangor Corporation Act, of 1894, the passenger toll at the Garth ferry was fixed at 3d. Under the Act of 1938, we find that the ferry rates may not be altered, except with the consent of the Ministry of Transport.

6. THE MOEL-Y-DON AND TAL-Y-FOEL FERRIES, 1708–1851

We have seen that Thomas Jones, as guardian of the infant Thomas Lloyd, was granted a lease of the Moel-y-don and Tal-y-foel ferries, for a term of thirty-one years, from 19th May, 1708.

According to statements, met with in later days, a disaster appears to have occurred to the Tal-y-foel boat during the term of this lease. We are told that, in 1723, "the Tal y Voel boat was upset on the thirteenth of April, and thirty persons perished. A man and a boy only escaped, the former by floating on the keel of the boat, and the other by laying hold of the tail of one of the horses, was dragged to the shore."[1]

On 12th April, 1739, Thomas Lloyd petitions for a renewal of his lease, and T. Walker, the Surveyor General, recommends the granting of a further term of thirty-one years, at the same rents of 41s. and 21s., and subject to a fine of £80. It is not, however, until 4th June, 1740, that the warrant to make out the lease to Thomas Lloyd is issued.[2]

The Letters Patent, dated 15th December, 1740, grant to Sir Edward Leighton, Bart., surviving executor and trustee of the will of Thomas Lloyd, Esq., lately deceased, the ferries of "Lanuden otherwise Bonydon" and of "Sainte called Talvoyle," for a term of thirty-one years from 19th May, 1739, at the rents of 41s. and 21s. and subject to a fine of £80. He is to repair all the houses and buildings belonging to the premises, and to keep the ferries, passages, etc., with good and sufficient ropes, boats, and other necessaries.[3] We may note that the words "if any such are there," which were appended to the reference to houses and buildings, in the grant of 1708, are now omitted; but no houses, or buildings, connected with either of these ferries are ever claimed as Crown property in later days. We learn from the will of Henry Paget, the first Earl of Uxbridge, which was proved on the 12th September, 1743, that Thomas Lloyd's estates were sold under a decree of the Court of Chancery. Lord Uxbridge had purchased the freehold estates in Anglesey, and also certain leasehold properties, and under his will he leaves them to his kinsman, Sir William Irby, Bart., for the term of his life, and then to his (Lord Uxbridge's) trustees, to the use of Sir William Irby's male issue, in tail.[4]

On 31st January, 1764, R. Herbert, Surveyor General, reports to the Lords of the Treasury, upon a petition from Francis, Earl Guilford, and Sir Walter Wagstaff Bagot, Bart., praying for a reversionary lease of the two ferries, "to fill up the term in being to 31 years." He refers to the previous grant to Sir Edward Leighton, for thirty-one years from the 19th May, 1739, "which term will expire the 30th day of May, 1770. N.S." (i.e. New Style). He also refers to the purchase of the leasehold premises, together with a considerable freehold estate in Anglesey, by the late Earl of Uxbridge, who, he states, had assigned the said leasehold premises, for the residue of the said term, to the Memorialists, upon trust to be enjoyed and go along with the freehold estates. He recommends the granting of a lease to the Memorialists for a term of twenty-four-and-a-half years, from 30th May, 1770, at the old rents and subject to a fine of £40; and the warrant directs that a lease, on the terms recommended, should be made out to the Memorialists or to whom they shall nominate.[1] The Letters Patent, dated 27th June, 1764, grant the lease to William, Lord Boston, at the nomination of the Earl of Guilford and Sir Walter Wagstaff Bagot, Bart.[2] These two appear to have been the trustees of Lord Uxbridge's settled estates. They were not the Executors of the will referred to above. We may add that a Miscellaneous Book of the Land Revenue, which has already been referred to, enters Thomas Lloyd's name as tenant of the two ferries for the years following 1736. Sir William Irby's name is substituted at the audit of 1744, and is changed to "Dom. Boston," at the audit of 1762.[3] Sir William Irby was thus recognised as the tenant from 1744 onward. He was raised to the peerage in 1761. The twenty-four-and-a-half years from 30th May, 1770, gives us 30th November, 1794, as the date upon which the term of this lease to William, Lord Boston, would expire; but we search in vain, about this time, for any petition for its renewal, or for any fresh grant of the two ferries. Frederick, Lord Boston, who had succeeded to the title in 1775, continues, however, to figure as the tenant, and the rents of 41s. and 21s. are duly paid.

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[1] Bingley, *North Wales*, Vol. I, p. 280.

[2] Records of the Treasury, Warrants for Crown Leases, T. 55/5, pp. 98. 142, 370, 372.

[3] L.R.I., Vo. 223 (North Wales, Vol. 12), fo. 166.

[4] P.C.C., Boycott 298.

Several travellers have left brief accounts of crossings at Moel-y-don, or Tal-y-foel, during the second half of the eighteenth century, which we may pause here to notice.

In March, 1750, John Wesley, on his way to Ireland, slept a night at "Dannabull," and in the morning, after waiting three or four hours at the edge of the sands for the tide to ebb, crossed the Traeth Mawr, and "before five came to Baldon Ferry, and found the boat ready for us: but the boatmen desired us to stay a while, saying, the wind was too high, and the tide was too strong. The secret was they stayed for more passengers."

Coming by the same route, in March, 1756, he slept at Caernarvon, and "took horse at six in the morning. Supposing, after we had rode near an hour, that a little house on the other side was the ferry-house, we went down to the water and called amain: but we could not procure any answer." It came on to rain, and they went into a little church near by, to shelter, and presently learned, from a girl, that they had still two miles to ride to "Baldon Ferry." This time the boat was on the other side, but "came over without delay and soon landed us in Anglesey." Had John Wesley come down to the shore by Llanfair-is-gaer church, four centuries earlier, he would, perhaps, not have called for the ferry-boat in vain.[1]

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[1] Warrants for Crown Leases, T. 55/13, pp. 106–7 and 118–20.

[2] Copy of the grant in Lord Boston's possession.

[3] L.R. 2/318.

Dr. Pococke was in Caernarvon, on his way to Ireland, in 1751. He writes, respecting the Tal-y-foel ferry, "the ferry here is broad, and on market days they do not care to take horses directly from the town, especially if it is windy." He crossed at Abermenai.[2]

Hutton was at Caernarvon in 1797, and refers to the great number of people who brought supplies to the Caernarvon Market from Anglesey. "The ferry boat at Tal y foel," he writes, "is fully employed on Saturday morning and evening, to bring and return them. I saw it unload thirty eight persons at one time, every one with a luggage for the market." Two years later he crossed from Caernarvon with about forty other passengers, not one of whom, he states, could speak English.[3]

Bingley, about the same time, "crossed from Caernarvon into Anglesea by the ferry-boat, which every day, when the weather will admit, takes passengers over the Menai, . . . The boat always goes at high water, and, when ready to set out, one of the men blows a horn in the town, to collect together the passengers."[4]

Though one of the routes to Holyhead, in the days before the Menai Bridge, lay through Caernarvon, travellers do not appear to have patronised the Tal-y-foel ferry. The service was uncertain, and too dependent upon the winds and tides.

In 1810 the Board of Commissioners of H.M. Woods, Forests, and Land Revenue is constituted, and the detailed Reports of the Surveyors General are no longer available.

In September, 1820, these Commissioners report to the Lords of the Treasury upon a petition from David and William Williams, "praying permission to establish a New Ferry over the Straits of Menai and to take a lease of the same, and also for stay of proceedings against them for having illegally carried persons over the same." The Commissioners, at the same time, submit a Memorial from Lord Boston, representing the injury which the Tal-y-foel and Moel-y-don ferries have sustained by the attempt made by the two petitioners to establish a new ferry, "and also requesting to be allowed to renew the lease of the last mentioned ferries."

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[1] Wesley, *Journal* (abridged), 1903, pp. 179 and 229.

[2] Pococke, *Travels,* Vol. I, p. 238.

[3] Hutton, *North Wales,* pp. 83, 179.

[4] Bingley, *North Wales,* Vol. I, p. 278.

The Commissioners recommend that the lease applied for by D. and W. Williams be not granted, and that they be informed that if they continue to carry passengers across the Straits the proceedings against them shall be prosecuted without further delay. "But they recommend that a lease of the two ferries Tally-foel and Moel-y-don may be granted to the Memorialist Lord Boston, or to whom he shall nominate, for a term of 30 years and 314 days from 30th November, 1817, at the clear yearly rent of £26 12s. od. for the ferry of Moel-y-don, and £13 6s. od. for the ferry of Tally-foel. They further recommend that they may be authorised to direct the Receiver of Crown Rents of that district to call upon Lord Boston to pay over the sum of £507 4s. od. as the balance due by his lordship for the mesne profits of the property from the 30th November, 1794, when the last lease thereof expired."

The Lords of the Treasury approve of the proposed reply to the petition of D. and W. Williams. They also order that a warrant should be prepared for a lease of the two ferries to Lord Boston, from 30th November, 1817, upon the terms recommended. But there is nothing in the Minutes as to granting authority to call upon Lord Boston to make any payment in respect of the mesne profits.[1]

Lord Boston does not appear to have accepted the lease, from the 30th November, 1817, at the increased rents. A Rental shows that he continues to pay the old rents of 41s. and 21s. up to the end of 1821 ;[2] and, in 1822, we find him once more petitioning the Treasury and asking for a lease for thirty-one years, from 5th January, 1822. This petition is brought before the Lords on 26th April, 1822, and the Commissioners now support Lord Boston's petition, so far as concerns the new lease, but they as "that they may be authorised to call upon Lord Boston to pay over to the Receiver of the premises the mesne profits arising from the said premises from 30 November, 1817, to 5 January last, when the lease is proposed to commence." The Treasury Minute reads : "Let the warrant of 6 September, 1820, be cancelled and a new warrant be prepared empowering the Comm^{rs} of Woods to grant a new lease of these ferries as proposed for 31 years from 5 January last." Here, again, there is no granting of any authority to claim a payment in respect of the mesne profits, for the years during which Lord Boston had held the ferries without a lease.[1]

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[1] Treasury Minutes, T. 29, Vol. 189, p. 151, 6th September, 1820.

[2] L.R. 2/319.

The new lease to Frederick, Lord Boston, of "Two ferries over the River Menai called Llanden, alias Bonydon, and Talvoyle, between Penmaen and Llanthoyn," for thirty-one years from 5th January, 1822, at the combined rents of £39 18s. od., but without fine, was dated 30th January, 1823. We are told that the annual value of the two ferries, "per Surveys on oath," was, at this time, £45.[2]

The petition from David and William Williams, which was brought before the Lords of the Treasury, on 6th September, 1820, had been received by the Commissioners in May, 1819.[3] During the interval a disaster had befallen the Williams' boat. On Saturday, 6th August, 1820, while transporting some twenty-three passengers on their way to the Caernarvon market, the boat had capsized, and only one person, Mr. Hugh Williams, of Bodowyr Isaf, had been saved. The ferryman, William Williams, was amongst those who lost their lives. The great majority of those who perished were resident in the parish of Llanidan, and funds were raised in both counties on behalf of the bereaved families, a total of £603 being collected.[4]

David Williams once more petitions for the ferry, in April, 1821, but is informed that the Lords of the Treasury cannot alter their decision.[5] Despite the warning he has received, he persists in plying his boat, and we later learn that "An information was immediately filed against him by the then Attorney General, Sir R. Gifford, and Williams submitting to it, suffered judgment to go by default." We are also told that "Williams was attached for want of an appearance and sent to jail," but that, as a result of a local petition on his behalf, he was released after he had been in prison for six weeks.[6]

A copy of the Information "Atty Genl agt Dd Williams"—shows that the Attorney General, Sir Richard Gifford, Knight, came before the Barons of the Exchequer, at Westminster, on the 4th June, 1821, as prosecutor on the King's behalf. The Information states, at immense length, that the King was possessed of an ancient ferry "to and from Carnarvon from and to Tal y Foel," for carrying persons, carriages, horses and cattle, taking "certain reasonable freights and ferryages to wit for each person on foot two pence for each person on horseback 3 pense for every score of sheep 7d. and for all other cattle two pence by the head nevertheless one David Williams well knowing the premises . . . unlawfully injuriously and wrongfully . . . carried and conveyed divers passengers for hire in a certain Boat of him the sd David Williams." David Williams is charged, in some of the counts, with transporting passengers "over upon within and across the sd Ferry of our sd Lord the King" ; in others, with transporting them "near to the sd Ferry of our sd Lord the King." In one instance, David Williams's crossing is located as "to and from Plasbrereton in the Coy of Carnarvon from and to Trefarthen in the psh of Llanidan in the Coy of Anglesea." We are told that the King has suffered the loss of divers great gains and profits, and has been disturbed and disquieted in his rights and title "to the damage of our sd Lord the King of £500." Finally, the Attorney General "prays the process of the Court here and that the sd Dd Williams may be made to ansr our sd Lord the King touching the premes afsd."[1]

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[1] Treasury Minutes, T. 29, Vol. 208, p. 627.

[2] L.R.I., Vol. 226 (North Wales, Vol. 15), fo. 288; and Parl. Papers, Fourth Report of the Commissioners of H.M. Woods, Forests, and Land Rvenue, Appendix I, 6th March, 1823.

[3] Treasury Board Papers, Index 8619, p. 443.

[4] *N.W.G.*, 10th August, 1820, 21st March, 1821.

[5] Treasury Out-letters, T. 27, Vol. 80, p. 626.

[6] Statements made by Counsel during proceedings against the "Paul Pry." See below.

The Williams lived at a little house upon the Caernarvonshire shore below Plas Brereton, and which, at this time, bore the name "Caepyscodlyn."[2] It figures in the Ordnance Survey, of 1841, as "Ferryhouse." Their boat plied from where the road from Brynsiencyn reached the shore at Barras, just to the west of Trefarthen, and the passengers had to make their way to Caernarvon, along the shore, or across the fields. The ferry had been given the name "Borth Newydd," but does not appear to have been in existence for very long before the first threat of proceedings, early in 1819. No definite information has, however, been met with on this point.

During the later months of 1831, and the early months of 1832, the columns of the *Carnarvon Herald* make it clear that there was much local dissatisfaction with the working of the Tal-y-foel ferry. The sub-lessees of the ferry were Robert Morris and William Mathew. They had been granted a ten years' lease by Lord Boston, in 1823, of both the Tal-y-foel and Moel-y-don ferries, and had recently obtained some extension of their term.

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[1] Copy of the "Information" in Lord Boston's possession.

[2] Treasury Out-letters, T. 27, Vol. 80, p. 159.

We are told that people were being continually held up, for two or three hours, waiting to get across. One party had arrived at Tal-y-foel at 6 p.m., and had been compelled to spend the night at the inn there, which is sometimes referred to as the ferry-house. The same fate would have befallen Mr. Roberts, the maltster, who reached Tal-y-foel at 6 p.m. one evening, had not Mr. O. O. Roberts, the Senior Bailiff of the Borough, arrived in a post-chaise from Mona at 7 p.m. When their combined efforts had failed to induce the two ferrymen to launch their boat, they were, fortunately, able to proceed in the post-chaise to Moel-y-don, and eventually reached home about midnight. In addition to shortcomings of the above nature, we learn that the boatmen are insolent to ladies, that the boats are dirty, that pigs are carried in the same boats as the passengers, and further, that passengers are made to pay extra for being carried ashore, at certain states of the tide.

In the *North Wales Chronicle* of 28th February, 1832, Mr. Robert Morris replies to some of these attacks, and publishes a time-sheet of the sailings of the ferry-boats, upon the date upon which Mr. O. O. Roberts and his companion had stated that they were unable to cross from Tal-y-foel. This showed eight crossings, each way, between 8 a.m. and 8 p.m. upon the day in question; and that three out of the five ferry-boats had been in service that day. Mr. Morris' reply, and his time-sheet, are, however, treated with derision in the next issue of the *Herald.*

Though the correspondence in the columns of the *Herald* takes the form, mainly, of personal attacks against Robert Morris, it soon becomes clear that the dissatisfaction with the ferry service is widespread, and that it is felt that the time has come when steps should be taken to secure some improvement. The character of the steps taken makes it very evident that substantial and influential backing had been secured, but the headquarters from which this came are not indicated.

At the beginning of April, 1832, we learn of the arrival, off Caernarvon, of the steam packet Paul Pry, amidst general rejoicings, and to the salute of guns from Twtil. An advertisement in the *Herald*, on 7th April, informs the public that the Paul Pry will commence sailing, that day, between the New Pier and Barras, and that she will provide a half-hourly service. She is said to draw only 2 feet 10 inches, to have a 16-h.p. engine, and a spacious cabin. The fares are: Steerage 1d., Deck 2d., Cabin 3d. Horses 6d., Cattle 4d., Pigs 3d., Sheep 2d. Thus commenced what the *North Wales Chronicle* terms "this absurd and unjustifiable invasion of the rights of Lord Boston and his lessees." On 12th May the "General

Steam Packet Office, Carnarvon," advertises for tenders for the erection of a wooden landing stage at Barras, and on 2nd June we are told how, during a recent storm, when a number of people were held up at Tal-y-foel, and the Tal-y-foel boats would not face the weather, the Paul Pry had steamed up as far as Tal-y-foel, just to show the better facilities available at Barras.

At the Caernarvonshire Summer Assizes in July, 1832, Morris and Matthew, the lessees of the Tal-y-foel ferry, bring an action for trespass against Evans and others operating the Paul Pry.

The plaintiffs have, unfortunately, described their ferry as operating from "the parish of Llangeinwen in Anglesey to and from the town of Carnarvon." This would have excluded Barras, which is in the parish of Llanidan; so they now have to ask to be allowed to amend their record in this respect. This amendment is, after some argument, allowed. The plaintiffs then ask for a still further amendment "inserting an exception in favour of such persons as were residing at either of the two points, Carnarvon or Barras, and who might cross the ferry in their own boats." The judge, Lord Lyndhurst, declined to allow this latter amendment, whereupon counsel for the plaintiffs stated that they would not now proceed with the trial, but would withdraw their record. It was intimated, however, that this meant no more than a postponement of the case.

The outcome of this first trial is received with much local jubilation, and the *Herald* finds it "delightful to think that our active friend Paul, may still wave his triumphant flag." It soon becomes evident, however, that the Paul Pry's activities between Caernarvon and Barras are not meeting with financial success, and, at the beginning of August, we find her running on five days of the week to Menai Bridge, Bangor, Beaumaris, and Conway, and connecting with the Liverpool steamers at Menai Bridge on her outward and homeward trips. She is said to be still plying to Barras on Saturdays and Sundays, and we are told that the service to Barras was maintained by two boats on the other five days. She appears to have continued her connection with Caernarvon up till May, 1833, after which we hear no more of her.

During February and March, 1833, according to reports in the *Herald,* those acting for the lessees of the Tal-y-foel ferry endeavoured, by application to the Court of King's Bench, to secure the desired amendment of their record, but without success. At length, but not until August, 1833, their case is reopened; this time at the Ruthin Assizes, before Mr. Justice Gaselee and a special jury.

On behalf of the plaintiffs, a map was now submitted showing the limits claimed, on the Anglesey shore, for the Tal-y-foel ferry. These were from "Porth y gilfach," about a quarter-of-a-mile south-west of Tal-y-foel, to Cerrig-duon in the parish of Llanidan, a distance of two-and-three-quarter miles. From Cerrig-duon to Pwllfanog was claimed for Moel-y-don, and Abermenai extended to Porth-y-gilfach.[1] The exclusive right of ferry from Pwllfanog westward was thus claimed for one or other of the three ferries, but nothing in the Crown lease to Lord Boston, or in that granted by him to his sub-tenants, served in any way to substantiate these claims. The plaintiffs' case had, therefore, to depend upon evidence as to the past exercise of the rights claimed. Some thirty witnesses were called on the plaintiffs' behalf, some of whom claimed to have been familiar with the ferry for the last forty or fifty years. Many were ferrymen or ex-ferrymen. A certain number were Anglesey farmers who, for the most part, pleaded guilty to being Lord Boston's tenants.

Briefly, the evidence showed that Tal-y-foel was the only place, on the Anglesey side, to and from which the ferry-boats ordinarily plied. There only was there a ferry-house. At high water the boats landed at Tal-y-foel. At low water they landed their passengers on the sandbank opposite Tal-y-foel. At half tide the boats could not reach Tal-y-foel; neither, owing to an intervening channel, could the passengers walk ashore from the sandbank. At these times they were landed at Ty-bach-y-foel, about halfway between Tal-y-foel and Y Foel, which could be reached up a small channel through the sands. Occasionally the boat had landed at Y Foel.

All the witnesses testified to landings at Barras, but their evidence was much shaken under cross-examination. The ferry-boats had occasionally gone to Barras in heavy winds. They went to Barras, from time to time, to fetch a load, and to Trefarthen also. They had taken people to Barras at the time of the Brynsiencyn Wakes, but there had never been any regular service to Barras. No boat was ever stationed there. There had been no proper landing place there prior to the construction of the "Paul Pry" stage. Passengers from the Brynsiencyn neighbourhood had to go all the way to Tal-y-foel to get across unless some other boat took them over.

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[1] An estate map, of 1782, in the possession of Mr. R. Lloyd Hughes, late of Plas Penrhyn, names a field, in the above position, "Cae Borth Gilfach."

It is here that we come to the private boats, to the exception of which from their claim to the ferry rights at Barras the plaintiffs had attached so much importance. The evidence shows that these private boats had, for a long time past, been transporting people from the parish of Llanidan, and indicates that this practice, which to a great extent met the needs of these people, had not met with any opposition from those interested in the Tal-y-foel ferry. When, however, the necessity arose for claiming Barras as one of the landing places of the Tal-y-foel ferry, this carrying over of passengers, in boats which had no connection with the ferry, became an embarrassment.

It is now stated that the late Mr. Evans, of Trefarthen, had always made strangers, who crossed in his boat, pay the ferry. Some of the ferrymen say that when they heard that people had come over in private boats, they went after them, and if they found them demanded the ferry money; but, under cross-examination, we get the admission that payment was frequently refused, or that "some paid and others refused."

The defence contented itself with the cross-examination of the plaintiff witnesses, and called none of its own.

The judge, in summing up, expressed the opinion that there could be no question as to the plaintiffs' rights at Tal-y-foel, or as to Ty-bach-y-foel having been a regular landing place of the ferry. But he felt that there were clearly many doubts as to Barras; and if the jury found that Barras was not within the limits of the ferry he apprehended that it was not necessary to consider any points further east. The jury appears to have had no hesitation in returning a verdict for the defendants.

Those behind Messrs. Morris and Matthew were not yet, however, prepared to abandon the fight. A rule *nisi* to set aside the verdict and for a new trial was obtained, and the case came before the Court of Exchequer in May, 1834. But the Denbighshire jury's verdict was upheld, and the rule *nisi* discharged.

One may note that the question as to by what right, or title, the promoters of the Paul Pry established their ferry, and took tolls from the public, is never raised; neither is any mention made of the losses sustained by the Tal-y-foel ferry, though we find Lord Boston subsequently stating that these had been considerable. Had the proceedings been taken by the Crown, upon the grounds set forth in the "Information," laid by the Attorney General against David Williams, the outcome would perhaps have been different.

A couple of points arising from the evidence may be noted.

Firstly: that one David Owen, who had been the tenant of the ferry for eight years, "about twenty years ago," states that he "charged a penny to Talyfoel in his time," and that "the price has been raised since his time." It is thus evident that the 2d. which the Attorney General quoted as the ferriage, in June, 1821, had not very long been in force, but the circumstances under which the increase was effected have unfortunately not been traced.

Secondly: in view of statements, which have been published, to the effect that the Tal-y-foel ferry had transported foot passengers only, we may quote the evidence of another ex-ferryman, Thomas Roberts, that he "was in the habit of carrying carts, horses and passengers in the ferryboats." The evidence as to the landing facilities, however, compels one to question whether the transport of a cart could have been other than a very exceptional occurrence.

We learn, some years later, that Lord Boston had been "required," by the Woods and Forests, to institute these proceedings against the Paul Pry; and if we accept evidence given before the Select Committee on Land Revenues of the Crown, in June, 1834, by O. O. Roberts (whose failure to cross at Tal-y-Foel on a certain evening has been referred to above), it would appear that the Commissioners had very actively concerned themselves in the dispute concerning the landing place at Barras. After enlarging upon the unsatisfactory character of the ferry service at Caernarvon, and the attempt made to effect an improvement by means of a steamboat, Mr. Roberts answers two questions as follows: "Is the steam communication continued?—No; the office of Woods has served notice to account for what they have received from boats working on Barras ferry, and, of course, no persons would wish to invest their property in it, under a threat of legal proceedings.—The steamer is discontinued then for the present?—Yes, but other boats ply, and have been served with similar notice."[1] Whatever the attitude of the Woods and Forests may have been, the boats continue to ply at the revived "Borth Newydd," though the distance of the landing place from Caernarvon, and the fact that passengers could only reach it along the shore, or by trespassing across fields, much prejudices this route.

In June, 1837, however, we learn that the "Promoters of the Communication between Carnarvonshire and Anglesey" have purchased a strip of land for the purpose of making a carriage road to connect the new ferry with the turnpike road to Bangor, between Cae-gwyn and Ty-coch, within a mile of Caernarvon.

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[1] Parl. Papers, 1834, XV, p. 33.

Subscriptions towards this enterprise are solicited. The road is opened to the public before the end of August, but the appeal for subscriptions had, we are told, met with a poor response. Finally, but not until five years later, in September, 1842, the Harbour Trust decides to construct a pier, or jetty, at Waterloo Port, the landing place of the new ferry.

During these later years the attacks upon the Tal-y-foel ferry have, for the time being, subsided, partly, it would appear, because Mr. Humphrey Owen, of Rhuddgaer, has become the tenant, and has to be more respectfully treated. Those who wrote letters to the *Herald*, at this time, are mainly concerned with the new pier, which has been built out into the Straits, opposite the Bell Tower. It is said to have been badly built and to be a danger to the public, and to shipping, and we incidentally learn that a large mud bank has formed between it and Coed Helen, over which the passengers by the ferry-boats now have to tramp to reach the landing place under Porth yr Aur. It is the Harbour Trust, however, which is the culprit in this matter of the new pier.

In 1843 the attacks upon the ferry are once more revived and the Harbour Trust now takes the matter up, and appoints a committee to investigate and report. In August, 1843, this Committee presents its Report. It finds that formerly there was a pier to low-water mark at Tal-y-foel, which enabled passengers, cattle, and goods to be shipped, or landed, at all hours of the day, and under all conditions of the tide. It understands that there used to be a house and sheds for the use and shelter of passengers and goods, and that Lord Boston, by his grant, is required to keep all such "house, sheds, piers, and jetties, in good order and repair and to see that good and sufficient boats be provided for the convenience of the public." It finds, nevertheless, "that the ancient pier has fallen to ruins, that the houses and sheds have disappeared, or been converted to private uses."

We then come to a portion of the Report which reads as follows : "We find by a minute of the Treasury, that the ferriage was formerly only one half-penny, but that by consent of the principal inhabitants of the counties of Carnarvon, Anglesey, and Merioneth, in this town assembled, it was agreed with the Crown, on condition of a better means of communication being afforded, that the ferriage should be advanced to one penny, which was done accordingly."[1]

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[1] This minute of the Treasury has not been traced, but we have found evidence that the ferriage had been increased from ½d. to 1d., at Beaumaris, prior to the end of the seventeenth century.

The Committee then finds that Lord Boston, about twenty years ago, had raised the ferriage to twopence, without the consent of the principal inhabitants, "or, as far as we can learn, his lessor, the Crown."

They further complain that, in addition to the ferriage, parties have constantly to meet an additional charge for being carried ashore from the sand-bank, on men's shoulders or in carts. Also, that as a result of the boats being manned by only two men, it is common for passengers to be kept for hours on the cold beach, or sheltering under hedges, because the boats are unable to cross.

They recommend that Lord Boston's attention should be called to the disgraceful state of affairs at Tal-y-foel, at a time when the most rapid improvements, in all modes of water transit, are being effected elsewhere. They trust that he will see his way to build wooden piers to low-water mark, and to place a steamboat on the station. They also suggest, as perhaps preferable to a steamboat, a floating bridge, similar to Mr. Rendel's floating bridges across the Tamar and other rivers.

The Committee's Report is approved by the Harbour Trust, and copies are ordered to be sent to the Commissioners of Woods and Forests, and to Lord Boston.

On 28th September, 1843, the Commissioners acknowledge the receipt of the Report, and state that they had forwarded the same to Lord Boston and that they now enclose his lordship's reply.

Lord Boston's reply to the Commissioners indicates that they had suggested that he should surrender his lease. This he declines to do. He states that, prior to leasing the ferry to the present tenant, he had advertised the letting, with a view to affording an opportunity to any one desirous of doing so to place a steamer there. Though many of those most clamorous for a steamer were present at the auction, not a single bid was made by any of them. He then let the ferry to the present tenant, a "responsible person of landed property in the immediate vicinity, well known to all the neighbourhood." Difficulties arise from sandbanks, tides, and winds, which neither he nor his tenants can control. That the passage might be improved by some ingenious contrivance is not improbable, but he is not disposed "to spend many thousand pounds for the accommodation of the people of Carnarvon, upon a ten year's lease, after having sustained such heavy losses by an opposition boat, set up by the people of Carnarvon, and which you required me as lessee of the Crown to prosecute, in order to protect the rights of the Crown."

We may, perhaps, briefly note that Mr. Humphrey Owen has something to say about the Committee's Report in the *Herald* of 21st October. He states that the "ancient pier" is in thorough repair, as is "the excellent new pier," about which the Committee has "taken especial care not to say a word." He questions whether the "sheds" ever existed, and asks why no mention is made of the two public houses at Tal-y-foel. As to the extra charge for carrying people ashore, he asserts that no such charge has been made, while he has held the ferry. He finally states that all the gentlemen, freeholders, and respectable farmers, who are in the habit of crossing, will bear him out in saying that the ferry service has never been better than it is at the present time.

It is worth while pausing to comment upon the statement of the Harbour Trust Committee, that formerly there was a pier to low-water mark at Tal-y-foel, available at all states of the tide; and upon Lord Boston's remark, in his letter, that difficulties arise from the sandbanks, tides, and winds which neither he nor his tenants can control.

If we refer to Lewis Morris' plan of "Caernarvon Bar and Harbour," of 1748, we find the main sandbank of the Traeth Gwyllt shown as lying up and down the centre of the Straits, with a low-water channel between it and the Anglesey shore, almost as wide as that upon the Caernarvonshire side. The two channels meet opposite Caernarvon. These are the conditions at the time of the disaster to the Abermenai boat, in 1785, described below, and the revised plan, of 1800, by William Morris shows no great change. When, however, we come to Commander Sheringham's chart of 1838 (published 1843), there is no longer any low-water channel along the Anglesey shore, but instead a wide stretch of sand reaching almost to the middle of the Straits, and extending from Traeth Melynog to opposite Caernarvon. The ancient pier may well have met all requirements at all times of the tide during the eighteenth century, though it could no longer do so at the period of the Paul Pry Proceedings, and of the Harbour Trust Committee's Report.

The *Herald* continues to report discussions regarding the ferry at meetings of the Harbour Trust during the following years, but nothing practical results until, on 12th January, 1848, a public meeting convened by the Mayor, Thomas Turner, Esq., is held at the Guild Hall. It is now resolved to form a Joint Stock Company, with a capital of £1,200 in £5 shares, for the purpose of purchasing a steam ferry-boat. Mr. W. Bulkeley Hughes, M.P., is now interesting himself in the problem, and undertakes to open negotiations with the Woods and Forests, and with Lord Boston.

In April, we find Mr. John Provis inspecting the ferry and holding an inquiry on behalf of the Commissioners; and at the end of May, Mr. Bulkeley Hughes reports to a meeting of the shareholders of "The Menai Steam Navigation Company" upon his negotiations with Lord Boston. It is now agreed that Lord Boston is to surrender all his interests in the ferry, as against a payment of £225; and that John Jones, the present tenant of the ferry, is to receive £30, and to have his boats taken over at a valuation. The £30, payable to John Jones, is referred to as a half-year's rent, so we may assume that the Moel-y-don and Tal-y-foel ferries were, at this time, sublet for £60 per annum.

The records of the Woods and Forests show that the Indenture, by which Lord Boston conveyed his lease, expiring 5th January, 1853, to the Menai Steam Navigation Company, was dated 26th December, 1848;[1] but statements in the *Herald* seem to indicate that the ferries came into the possession of the Company in June, 1848. It is decided, at a meeting held this month, that the Company's capital shall consist of 400 shares of £5 each.

An order for the building of the new steamer is shortly afterwards placed with a Liverpool firm; and in November, Mr. John Provis again visits Caernarvon, and, with the Mayor and Mr. Bulkeley Hughes, fixes upon the site of the new pier, which the Company is going to erect at Y Foel. It is also arranged to improve the pier at Tal-y-foel.

At the end of April, 1849, the new steamer, the "Menai," arrives at Caernarvon, amidst much firing of guns. She is 76 feet 6 inches long, with a beam of 12 feet, and has a 16-h.p. engine.[2] Many think she has insufficient beam, but it is claimed that she can carry carriages and horses and live stock, and has good cabin accommodation.

During the following months the *Herald* does not cease to extol the services of the "Menai." We are told, in September, that whereas the takings of the boats, from June, 1848, to the end of April, 1849, had averaged only £31 10s. 1d. per month, those of the "Menai," for May, June, and July, had averaged

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[1] L.R.R.O., Class 13, Vol. 12, fo. 156.

[2] There may be some doubt as to the dimensions of the "Menai." The *Herald* of 19th August, 1848, states that she is to have a breadth on deck of 15 feet to 16 feet. The *Herald* of 6th January, 1849, announced the launch of the new steamer, and gives her dimensions as above.

£67 10s. 3d. During the same period, however, we gather that affairs are not entirely satisfactory. The property owners, we learn, are failing to appreciate the extent to which the new ferry service is benefiting the town, and the Anglesey farmers are failing to realise the importance to them of the more certain and convenient access to the Caernarvon market.

The Commissioners had arranged, with the consent of the Treasury, to lease the Abermenai ferry to the Company for 3¾ years from 5th April, 1849, at a rent of £1 per annum, and afterwards to lease the three ferries for 21½ years, from 5th January, 1853, at a combined rent of £50 per annum.[1] This lease is, however, never executed. From the report of a Meeting held on 30th November, 1850, we learn that only 316 out of the 400 shares had been taken up, and that the Company could not meet its liabilities. There is a proposal to issue preference shares to the existing shareholders, but many of these are very dissatisfied and critical of the management.

Early in the following year the Menai Steam Navigation Company ends its brief career. By an Indenture, dated 4th April, 1851, between the Menai Steam Navigation Company and John Owen, of Market Street, Carnarvon, John Owen agrees to purchase for £1,075, and the Company "assigns to him the residue of the term of 31 years (granted to Lord Boston), together with the quays, wharves, houses, warehouses, piers and all other appurtenances and also the Iron Steamer or Packet Boat called 'The Menai' and the whole of the boats belonging to the Co."[2]

John Owen appears to have been in communication with the Woods and Forests, and to have received their assurance that the lease, which was to have been made out to the Menai Steam Navigation Company, would now be granted to him. From this time onward, Abermenai is, for what it is worth, associated with Tal-y-foel. It is necessary, therefore, to bring the records of the Abermenai ferry up to date.[3]

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[1] Treasury Minutes, T. 29, Vol. 538, p. 35, and L.R.R.O., Class 7, Vol. 4, fo. 37.

[2] L.R.R.O., Class 13, Vol. 13, fo. 228. A Schedule specifies two landing stages and eight boats, together with sundry appliances. We may take the quays, wharves, houses, and warehouses to be premises held on lease.

[3] The information respecting the Tal-y-foel ferry, from 1831 onwards, has, when not otherwise indicated, been derived from the files of *The Carnarvon Herald and North Wales Advertiser*, 1st January, 1831–2nd January, 1836, and *The Carnarvon and Denbigh Herald and North and South Wales Independent*, from 9th January, 1836, onward.

7. THE ABERMENAI FERRY AFTER 1710

We found that the Abermenai ferry (under the name Southcrook), was leased to Richard, Lord Bulkeley, for 31 years, from Michaelmas, 1710, at the old rent of £4 10s. 0d., and subject to the rebuilding of the ferry-house and the provision of good and sufficient boats.

In 1741, the Rt. Hon. James, Lord Bulkeley, petitions for a renewal of the lease, and the Surveyor General, T. Walker, reports in due course. He states that "The said passage or Ferry petitioned for is situate near the mouth of the River Menay Opening to the Irish Seas having a Ferry house and two Boats kept for Carriage of Horses laden from Anglesea to the Market town of Carnarvon and from South Wales to Holyhead in the way to Ireland." After referring to the previous lease, he adds: "I find that the Ferry house which was in ruins at the time of granting the last Lease has since been rebuilt by the said late Lord Bulkeley. That the premises used to be let at 10^{l} p. ann., but now at 12^{l} : 10^{s} : And that the House is in middling repair at the Charge of the Petitioner and the Boats and Tackle at the Charge of the Undertenant." He suggests that a new lease for 31 years from Michaelmas, 1741, should be granted to the petitioner, for a fine of £50, and at the rent of £4 10s. 0d.

The Surveyor's Report is dated 20th November, 1741, and the Lords of the Treasury approve it on 6th April, 1742, and order the necessary warrant to be prepared.[1]

No mention of the lands held in trust for William Broadhead has been noted at this time, though they were doubtless included in the lease. The lease, however, was not enrolled, and does not figure in the Enrolment Book of Grants.

On the 27th August, 1772, Peter Burrell, Surveyor General, reports to the Treasury upon a Memorial received from Thomas James, Lord Bulkeley, praying a renewal of his lease. We are now told that "The premises consist of about 5 acres of Arable and pasture lying at Clegirog . . . there are no lands belonging to the Ferry save the landing places for the Boats and passengers. There is a small dwelling house for the Ferryman and a Stable erected on the waste which together with the Ferry are let to Hugh Rich^{d} at the yearly rent of £10, out of which the Boats are to be maintained as I am certified by Mr. Tho^{s} Williams Agent for the Memorialist." Peter Burrell refers to the lease which had expired in 1741, but had evidently failed to trace the later lease. He, however, finds that the reserved rents have been duly paid, and recommends the granting of a further lease for 31 years, both as to the lands in trust for Richard, son of Wm. Broadhead deceased, and as to the ferry to the Memorialist's own use, reserving the ancient rents of 14s. 5½d. and £4 10s. 0d. and without fine, having regard to "the Charges of passing an Exchequer Lease of these small parcells."

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[1] Warrants for Crown Leases, T. 55/6, pp. 132 and 133, and T. 29/92, p. 25.

The Warrant is dated 26th January, 1773.[1] The Lease is dated 27th March, 1773, and demises the premises "for the term of 31 years from the Date."[2] Thirty-one years from March, 1773, would bring us to March, 1804. Search has been made around this date for any reference to a further lease to Lord Bulkeley, but without success. Rentals, however, show that he paid the rent of £4 10s. 0d., up to the time of his death, in 1822, and that his executors continued to do so up to March, 1828, after which no further rent is paid.[3]

In a "Schedule of Arrears of Rent in Chester & Wales, 1836–1850" we find under "Southcrook Ferry" certain much-erased and amended "Observations," of which the following appears to be the corrected reading: "This rent is not in arrear, the tenancy in these premises is only at will. The last lease granted to Tho^{s} Ja^{s} Lord Bulkeley (in trust) having expired 27th March 1804 & the Rent latterly not paid as the Menai Bridge has caused the Ferry to be forsaken—Note this should be enquired into and reported on—whether the Ferry will bear a Rent—at all events care should be taken to secure the continuance of the Crown Rights."[4]

We may take it that Lord Bulkeley did not take any fresh lease, after 1804, but held the ferry from year to year—possibly in the interest of an old ferryman, named Robert Williams, of whom we hear later—and that his successor declined to continue the payment, after 1828.

We may here review such little evidence as is available regarding travellers *via* the Abermenai ferry. That they had been many, in early days, there can be little question, but Beaumaris and Porthaethwy had established their predominance, on the route to Holyhead, long before any direct evidence respecting Abermenai is met with. We have seen that there was a ferry-house at Abermenai, in Henry VII's time, and that the ferry figures in Captain Greenvile Collins' chart of 1693, with a house each side of the narrow crossing; but it is only in the small edition of 1720 that we found Ogilby's road from Welshpool to Caernarvon, associated with a road from Abermenai ferry, in the direction of Holyhead.

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[1] Warrants for Crown Leases, T. 55/17, pp. 186–7, 202–7 and 261.

[2] L.R.I., Vol. 224 (North Wales, Vol. 13), p. 266.

[3] L.R. 2/318 Misc. Book; L.R. 2/322, Rental, 1781–1819; L.R. 2/319, Rental, 1819–1831.

[4] L.R.R.O. 37/6.

Daniel Defoe came to Caernarvon, apparently by Ogilby's road, about 1720. He describes the town's position upon the "Inlet called Menai, parting the Isle of Anglesea, or Mona, from the main Land," and continues, "and here is a Ferry over to the Island called Abermenai Ferry: And from thence a direct Road to Holly Head, where we went."[1]

In 1741, as already noted, there are said to be two boats at Southcrook "for Carriage of Horses laden from Anglesea to the Market town of Carnarvon, and from South Wales to Holyhead in the way to Ireland."

Pococke comes by Corwen, Bala, Festiniog and Pont Aberglaslyn to Caernarvon, in the summer of 1751. He writes that "this place is about eight miles from Bangor ferry, and there is another ferry about half way to it; the ferry here is broad, and on market days they do not care to take horses directly from the town, especially if it is windy, so we forded at the mouth of the river, and went to a point about a mile to the west, where the passage is narrow, and crossed over into the Isle of Anglesea." He went by Newborough and Aberffraw, and then "mostly over strands to Holyhead."

On another tour, Pococke lands at Holyhead on the 12th August, 1756, and is shown Mr. William Morris's collection of marine specimens. On the following morning he rides seventeen miles along the south coast of Anglesey, and once more comes to "Abernai ferry." This time he proceeds south along a marsh by the sea. He inspects Dinas Dinlle and Clynnog, and after a visit to Pwllheli, proceeds by Penmorfa to Tanybwlch.[2]

Patterson's Road Books first made their appearance in 1771, and travellers for Holyhead coming by Caernarvon are directed in the first eleven editions (i.e. 1771–1796) to proceed by the "Abermeney Ferry," the route being given as Newborough, Aberffraw, Bodedern, Holyhead. In the twelfth edition (1799) Abermenai is no longer mentioned. Travellers are now directed to proceed to the Bangor Ferry. In the fourteenth edition (1808) an alternative route is commended, viz. to cross at Moel-y-don for Gwindy, on the great road. There is no further change until, in the eighteenth edition (1826), the direction is to proceed from Caernarvon to the Menai Bridge.[3]

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[1] Defoe, *Tour,* Vol. II, p. 461.

[2] Pococke, *Travels,* Vol. I, p. 238, and Vol. II, pp. 174–9.

[3] *A New and Accurate Description of all the Direct and Principal Cross Roads in Great Brittain,* by Daniel Patterson, London, 1771.

In another series, entitled "Patterson's British Itinerary," of which the first edition was published in 1785, and the second in 1796, the route from Caernarvon by Abermenai also figures; but you are now sent from Aberffraw to Holyhead, not by Bodedern, but by "Llanfair Enbol," which we may take to stand for Llanfair-yn-neubwll.

The first real survey of North Wales was that published, in a set of eight sheets, with a frontispiece, by John Evans, in 1795. The road from Llandwrog, by Dinas Dinlle, to "Belan Fort," now figures, and is continued from Abermenai, across the sands of Traeth Melynog, to Newborough. From Newborough, one route leads directly across the "Malldraeth Sands" to Llangadwaladr, and then through Aberffraw to Llanfaelog; while another route crosses the Cefni river by a "Ferry" below Llangaffo, and proceeds through Trefdraeth to Llanfaelog. From Llanfaelog the road is continued in the direction of Holyhead, as far as a point a little south of Llanfair-yn-neubwll church, but no further. A track is also indicated, which follows the coast line from Aberffraw as far as this same point, but no further.

John Evans's map thus represents the same conditions between Llanfair-yn-neubwll and the Four Mile Bridge as did the little map of 1720. His survey, of at least this portion of Anglesey, was clearly made prior to the construction of the Criglas Embankment, in 1776, and at a time when the traveller's further course to the Four Mile Bridge lay across the Cleifiog Sands, and varied according to the state of the tide.

NOTE.—*Date of John Evans's Map of Anglesey, and of the Criglas Embankment.*

It may be noted that the map, in addition to the break in the road near Llanfair-yn-neubwll, depicts the high-water line, a little to the west of this point, as extending far inland; and shows a long stretch of the new turnpike road, between Llanynghenedl and the Four Mile Bridge, as traversing the sands below the high-water level. In 1775 we find the Turnpike Trustees petitioning the House of Commons for an extension of their term, and that one of the grounds for their application is that parts of the road "are overflowed by the Sea every Spring Tide, so as to render it impassable for several Hours." Early in 1776, Sir John Stanley petitions the House for a Bill restraining the Trustees from making an embankment "at a Place called Cricklas." He is not successful, but on 7th February, 1777, he once more petitions the House for a "Bill for taking down the said Wall or Embankment" which the Trustees have erected.

Sir John Stanley has not the requisite backing, and we learn from a statement issued by the Trustees, in reply to his first petition, that Lord Bulkeley was so impressed by the benefit which his land, in the district, would derive from the embankment, that he had undertaken to bear the cost of the work. (Journals of the House of Commons, 1775–6–7, and a printed statement of the "Case of the Trustees of the Anglesey Turnpike Road," dated 1776. Copy in the writer's possession.) As further bearing upon the period of John Evans's survey, we may note that one sheet (S. Caernarvonshire) bears the same date as the frontispiece, viz. 1795 ; and another (Flintshire, 1794. The other six sheets bear no date. It may also be added that in Gough's *British Topography*, published in 1780 (Vol. II, p. 520), we find a reference to Mr. John Evans, of Llwyn-y-Groes, near Oswestry, and his proposals for an actual survey of North Wales in six sheets, "of which," it is stated, "several sheets are already completed."

No other travellers appear to have recorded crossings at Abermenai, but the big boat had doubtless been bringing Anglesey people to the Caernarvon market from early days. We have seen Bulkeley of Dronwy coming by it, in 1633, and we have been told of a serious disaster to this boat, in 1664. We have also (under Moel-y-don) heard of its failure to return to Abermenai, owing to a heavy storm, on a Saturday in December, 1710.

We next hear of a visit to Caernarvon by this boat, on the occasion of the disaster of 5th December, 1785, when out of fifty-five men, women, and children, who left Caernarvon in her, one only survived. The painstaking Bingley visited this survivor, Hugh Williams, of Tyn Llwydan, Aberffraw, and gives us his account.

This relates that "The Abermenai ferry-boat usually leaves Caernarvon on the return of the tide, but the 5th of December being the fair-day, and there being much difficulty, on that account, in collecting the passengers, the boat did not leave Caernarvon that evening till near four o'clock, though it was low water at five, and the wind, which blew strong from south-east, was right upon our larboard bow. It was necessary that the boat should be kept in pretty close to the Caernarvonshire side, not only that we might have the benefit of the channel, which runs near the shore, but also that we might be sheltered from this wind, which blew directly towards two sand-banks, at that time divided by a channel, called Traethau Gwylltion, 'The Shifting Sands.' These lay somewhat more than half-way betwixt the Caernarvonshire and the Anglesea coasts." The ferrymen failed, however, to keep near enough to the Caernarvonshire shore, and eventually, despite their utmost endeavours to retrieve the position, the boat was driven upon the sand-bank, and swamped, and those aboard her had to seek refuge upon the sand. Here, we are told, they found themselves "Exposed on a quick-sand, in a cold dark night, to all the horrors of a premature death, which, without assistance from Caernarvon, we knew must be certain on the return of the tide."

Despite the wind their cries were heard, and several boats were launched to their assistance; but "not one of them on discovering our situation, dared to approach us, lest a similar fate should also involved them." As there seemed no longer to be any possibility of any rescue, Hugh Williams now decided to attempt to reach the Anglesey shore, with the aid of a mast and oar, which he had lashed together. He was carried far down by the flood tide, but eventually, after being in the water some two hours, reached the shore, some distance to the eastward of the Tal-y-foel ferry-house, to which he was able to make his way.

He describes the scene, the next morning, when friends and relatives crowded the shore, searching for the bodies of those known, or believed, to have been in the boat. He states that "Besides those bodies thrown upon the shore by the tide, so many were found in various positions, sunk in the sand-bank, that it was not till after several tides that they could all be dug out."[1]

Before passing on the last days of the big boat, and of the ferry, we must record that, after 1828, when the last payment of the old rent of £4 10s. 0d. per annum was made to the Crown, the Rentals have nothing but ever-increasing arrears of rent to show, but they contain many observations regarding the ferry. Attention is called to the fact that, under the Newborough and Llangeinwen Enclosure Act of 1815, 14 acres 2 roods and 15 perches had been reserved to the Abermenai ferry. Frequent references are also made to the question of the mesne profits, and we learn, in 1844, that Mr. Lloyd Roberts had been instructed to claim these. The arrears, up to Lady Day, 1847, are returned as £87 15s. 0d., representing nineteen-and-a-half years' rent. The official account of the situation at Abermenai, during these years, is to be found in a "Schedule of Rents and Arrears," discharged under a Treasury Warrant, dated 4th April, 1860. Among the many items figures the Southcrook Ferry, with its tenant, John Williams, and his arrears of £87 15s. 0d.;

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[1] Bingley, *North Wales*, Vol. I, pp. 281–6.

and we also find a footnote which reads as follows: "This ferry with a cottage and some waste land adjoining was held by Mr. Williams on a yearly tenancy. Owing to the deterioration in the value of the Ferry no rent was paid by Mr. Williams from the year 1828. Nor owing to his inability to pay were any steps taken to recover the mesne profits accrued due from that period to the year 1848 when notice to quit was served upon Mr. Williams and possession of the premises resumed by the Crown."[1] It was in 1848, we may recall, that arrangements were made to include Abermenai in the lease to the Menai Steam Navigation Company.

We first meet with John Williams in 1833, when he is taken to Ruthin, in connection with the "Paul Pry" proceedings, to testify that Porth-y-Gilfach was the eastern limit of the Abermenai ferry. Cross-examined, he states that his brother, who had been at Abermenai for forty-seven years, and who had died twelve years ago, had told him so. He had never taken the boat there himself.

John Williams was well remembered by a number of elderly people at Newborough, whose statements respecting the traffic by the old ferry, during its last years, were taken in 1909.

Mrs. Griffith (aged 62, i.e. born 1847): "The first I remember at Abermenai was Shon Williams. He was in the employ of my Grandfather and grandmother (Robert Williams and his wife). On their death, Shon Wms. and their maid (Betty Owen) stayed on. Robert Williams had a daughter called Catrin. Shon Williams acted as the boatman at Abermenai. There were two boats—one a very big one which would carry about 60 persons. The other boat was called 'cwch coch' and would carry 20–25 persons. They plied between Abermenai and Carnarvon and Abermenai and Belan. Persons living in Newborough made mats then and took them across to Belan and thence to Pwllheli.

After Talyfoel Ferry was opened there was very little work to be done at Abermenai as people preferred going to Talyfoel on account of the roads to Abermenai being almost impassable. Shon Wms. afterwards gave up the Ferry as he was almost starving and went to live to Newborough, until he died some 15 years afterwards. At Newborough he was in receipt of Parish Relief. Another Shon Williams succeeded him at the Ferry, but he remained only for two years. He had only one small boat. . . . I have heard it said that if he (Shon Wms. 1st) had kept possession of his house without paying any rent for it for a few years more his title to it would have been alright. Shon Wms. had been at Abermenai about 30 years I should think. My Grandparents had not paid any rent. Shon Wms. was persuaded by the Trustees of the Port to pay rent which he did."

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[1] Rentals. L.R.2, Nos. 319 and 320, and L.R.R.O. 12, Nos. 120 to 142. Schedule, L.R.R.O. 3, No. 97.

Mrs. Catherine Jones (aged 89, i.e. born 1820): "I remember the boats plying between Abermenai and C'von. That was the way we went to market—along Abermenai road to the boats. We went along the sandbank when the tide was out. I do not remember going on the top of the Braich. I do not think it was possible for anyone to go that way when the tide was in. I have, however, never seen anyone going that way. Shon Wms. was the first boatman that I can remember at Abermenai. He had two or three big boats and the people looked like a hay stack in the boat. The toll to C'von was 2d. I have often crossed in the boat to Belan. He used to take people across from Abermenai if required. I stayed once for a few days with Shon Wms. and often went to Belan for grass. Many people went across to Belan for pleasure. . . . Shon Wms. only had his house and a small 'libart.' I am speaking of the time when I was 12 years old (i.e. 1832). I do not know when Shon Wms. gave up the Ferry. The Talyfoel Ferry and Abermenai to C'von Ferry were run together for a time. Owing to the convenience of better roads to Talyfoel, the Abermenai Ferry did not pay and Shon Wms. left and came to live at Newbrô. He received Parish relief. I remember another man succeeded him and his name was Shon Williams of Newbrô. He was there only a short time.

When I used to go across to Belan, there were no doors at the fort to prevent anyone going through. The road was a cart track through the sand dunes. There was no pier at Belan or Abermenai. We landed on the beach. We crossed in the Gap. . . . The boats that went across to Belan were kept right opposite the house of Shon Wms. The beach was very steep there. There was a 'pydew' by the house at Abermenai and they got excellent water from it. There was a carreg farch (i.e. horse block) also there. There used to be 2 or 3 girls working mats at Shon Wms. People use to take mats from Newbro to Lleyn in those days. I heard something about Shon Wms. holding the place having claimed it without paying rent."

Mrs. Mary Edwards (aged 81, i.e. born 1828) remembered Shon Williams and Betty Owen at Abermenai. He had three boats "cwch mawr, cwch canol, a'r cwch bychan." He carried corn, hay, mats, and people to Caernarvon, Porthlleidiog, and Belan, and the toll for each person was 2d. to Caernarvon.

Mr. Griffith Williams (aged 83, i.e. born 1826) had practically always lived at Caernarvon. He had, when about 15 years of age, been employed in dismantling a vessel, the Mountaineer, wrecked on the Caernarvon Bar. [The date of this wreck was 18th October, 1841.]

He states : "On Abermenai Point in those days there used to be a house occupied by Shon Abermenai. He kept a boat and ferried people across to Belan. . . . I have seen persons being ferried from Abermenai to Porthlleidiog. Old Shon used to make and sell mats. . . . I was 18 to 20 years old (i.e. 1844–6) when I remember old Shon working the Ferry. Old Shon used to own a boat with two oars. . . . He kept 12 to 18 young women knotting mats."

Mrs. Owen (73 years of age), of Newborough, who remembered Shon Williams and Betty Owen and Catrin Abermenai, states : "I heard my father say that people used to take all their produce to Abermenai and by boat to Carnarvon. This would be about 100 years ago. There was no boat crossing at Talyfoel then."

Mr. Owen Williamson (aged 69, i.e. born 1840), of Dwyran. "When a boy I remember Shon Williams living in the house at Abermenai. At that time the Abermenai Carnarvon Ferry had been been discontinued owing to another ferry having been established at the Old Talyfoel (by Mr. David Morgan's coal yard) where there are two back to back houses. There was no steamer then. I think the steamer was obtained in 1847 or 1848. During my boyhood carts went to Abermenai across the sands from Bwlch-y-traeth at low water, but when the tide was in they went along the Braich. The Braich was then very high and broad on top. Since then, the sea has broken through and demolished the Braich. Shon Williams had a boat and rowed people across to Belan when necessary. This was a short cut from these parts to Lleyn. It was not made use of frequently."

Mr. Williamson had only crossed the Gap on one occasion, and this was from Belan, and about the year 1858, "I asked a man to take me across to Abermenai. There was no one living at Abermenai then. It was a kindness of the man to take me across. . . . I believe Shon Wms. left Abermenai about the year 1855. . . . I never saw any produce taken across to Belan or brought over to Abermenai."[1]

We may add that Owen Williamson had earlier written one or two articles on Abermenai and Tal-y-foel, in which he attributed the abandonment of Abermenai, to the making of an excellent metalled road from Newborough, by Llangeinwen, to Tal-y-foel, which was much more convenient than the old route by Abermenai.[1]

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[1] Statements taken by the late Mr. R. O. Roberts, Town Clerk of Caernarvon, in 1909.

It is not possible to distinguish, in these statements, between personal recollections and information otherwise acquired, and they do not enable us to assign any definite date to the final abandonment, by the Newborough folk, of the Abermenai route to Caernarvon. The statements of Mrs. Catherine Jones, and of Mrs. Mary Edwards, seem clearly to establish that this route was followed well into the eighteen thirties ; while Mrs. Griffith would appear to have remembered a big boat which plied to Caernarvon, at a date which could hardly be earlier than 1853. The linking of the abandonment of the Abermenai route with the establishment of a ferry at Tal-y-foel, which we find in several of the statements, suggests that it must have been the new steam ferry, with its convenient pier at Y Foel, which had effected this diversion of the market traffic. Owen Williamson, however, states that the diversion took place prior to the advent of the steamer, and the statement of Griffith Williams, of Caernarvon, makes it doubtful whether Shon Williams' establishment had not been reduced to one small boat, even as early as 1841. Failing further information, we can hardly do otherwise than accept the statements attributing the final discontinuance of the Abermenai Caernarvon ferry service, to the improvement of the road from Newborough to old Tal-y-foel, and regard this as having been effected at a date prior to the establishment of the steam ferry, in 1849.

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[1] Published in *Cymru*, in 1892–4.

In his statement of 1909, Williamson appears to accept the Newborough tradition that in the days of Abermenai, there had been no ferry at Tal-y-foel; but, in these earlier articles, he holds that there had been a ferry at Tal-y-foel, in earlier days, and ascribes the disaster, of 1664, to the Tal-y-foel boat, adding "Only one escaped from this boat also, and it is said that his name was Hugh Williams."

We are inclined to query Williamson's reference to the carts. He states that the Abermenai Caernarvon ferry had been discontinued, at this time: that he never saw any produce taken to or from Belan, and that little use was made of the boat even for transporting people. But he does not explain for what purpose, under these circumstances, the carts went to Abermenai. We later learn that for many years preceding the break through, by the sea, in 1868, it had been the practice to take stones and gravel from the Abermenai foreshore, for repairing roads and other purposes. We are inclined to surmise that this was the work upon which these carts were engaged, and which necessitated their crossing the Braich (V. Statement by Mr. J. Bowen, mineral agent for the Crown, read at the Annual Meeting of the Caernarvon Harbour Trust, in January, 1901. *Carn. and Denbigh Herald* Report.)

In regard to Mrs. Griffith's statement, as to Shon Williams having been persuaded by the "Trustees of the Port" to pay rent, we may note that Mr. Jackson, the Surveyor to the Harbour Trust, also acted as secretary to the Menai Steam Navigation Company, and it may well have been Mr. Jackson who arranged with Shon Williams to stay on at Abermenai, at a small rent, after the latter had been given notice to quit by the Woods and Forests in 1848. This arrangement appears to have been continued by Mr. John Owen.

We may well accept Williamson's date, of about 1855, as that of Shon Williams' departure from Abermenai; and his statement that there was no one living at Abermenai, when he crossed the Gap, about 1858. It is clear that he did not regard the man who rowed him across, at this latter date, as working the ferry.

All that there remains to record regarding the Abermenai ferry is that it was included in the sale of the Tal-y-foel ferry, to the Caernarvon Corporation, in 1874, "Except and reserving to Her Majesty Her Heirs and Successors All the lands and hereditaments at any time heretofore held or used with or as appurtenant to the said Abermenai Ferry."[1]

The Corporation appears to have considered the possibility of re-establishing the ferry, and the approaches to it, in 1909, but to have abandoned the project.

We may add that the old ferry-house figures as "Ruin" on the Admiralty Chart of 1872. Its materials appear to have been utilised for other erections, but, until a few years back, its position, a little to the northward of the Harbour Trust's powder magazine, and its well, were clearly distinguishable. At the present day (1939), however, hardly a trace remains.

A review of the past history of the Menai ferries appears to indicate that Shon Williams' tenure of Abermenai marks but the final stage in an almost continuous decline in the relative importance of this ferry.

We have no records of the Abermenai ferry in the days of Aberffraw's predominance, but it would appear to have been the most frequented crossing of the Straits in the years immediately following the establishment of the merchants of Llanfaes, at Newborough. Porthaethwy, however, very soon claims the first place, and had become by far the most important ferry before the end of Henry VII's reign, by which time, doubtless, much of the earlier traffic by Abermenai was being diverted to Tal-y-foel and Moel-y-don. When we come to the annual values of the three western ferries, given us in the years 1708–1711, it is clear that Tal-y-foel is handling a much larger traffic than Abermenai. Lord Bulkeley is still receiving a rent of £10 from Abermenai, in 1772, but will not commit himself to a new lease in 1804; and the Commissioners of Woods and Forests recognise that Shon Williams can pay no rent from 1828 onwards. Tal-y-foel and Moel-y-don, on the other hand, are valued at £45 per annum in 1822, and Lord Boston is receiving a rent of £60 per annum for them in 1848.

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[1] L.R.R.O. 16/180.

8. THE MOEL-Y-DON AND TAL-Y-FOEL FERRIES, 1851–1874.

The Lease to John Owen, made 15th November, 1852, demises to him "All that Passage or Ferry of the Water of the Menai called Llan-ddyn otherwise Boyndon (and also called Moelydon). . . . And also all that Passage or Water of Sainte called Talvoyle (otherwise Tal-y-foel or Tan-y-foel) . . . betwixt Penmaen and Llanthoyn . . . demised . . . the thirtieth day of January One thousand eight hundred and twenty three unto the Right Honorable Frederick Lord Boston. . . .
Secondly that Passage or Ferry of the Water of Menai called Abermenai Ferry. . . . And also all that Ferry house called Abermenai with the land thereunto belonging . . . together with the right and privilege of ferrying on any part of the Menai Straits from Abermenai on the South West and extending from that point in a North Easterly direction to a distance of one mile and a half to the North East of the present Ferry house at Moel-y-don in the County of Carnarvon."

John Owen is to hold Abermenai for three years and three quarters, from 5th April, 1849, at the annual rent of £1, and is to hold the three ferries for twenty-one-and-a-quarter years from 5th January, 1853 (when Lord Boston's term for Tal-y-foel and Moel-y-don ends), at the combined rent of £50 per annum. He undertakes that, during this term, he and his Executors, Administrators and Assigns, will provide and keep in good repair a steam vessel of sufficient size and dimension for providing for the conveyance of passengers, carriages, horses, cattle, merchandise, and produce across the ferry of Tal-y-foel. Also that he will provide and maintain such proper and sufficient sailing and rowing boats as shall be necessary for the conveyance of passengers, carriages, horses, etc., across the ferries of Abermenai and Moel-y-don. He is also to "build set up and provide a sufficient Pier and Landing places on the Anglesey Shore" to the satisfaction of the Lord High Admiral or the Commissioners and to keep them in good repair. The times of sailings are to be fixed, but are not required to exceed one passage to Tal-y-foel and back in every hour between 7 a.m. and 7 p.m. from 1st April to 1st October, and between 8 a.m. and 4 p.m. from 1st October to 1st April. The "rates and charges" for the conveyance of passengers, carriages, horses, etc., "in and by such Steam Vessel, Sailing Boats or Rowing Boats" are to be those set forth in a Schedule attached to the lease.

When we come to the Schedule we find that the charges specified are said to be leviable "Between the Town of Carnarvon and Anglesey to be paid each way." The list is of great length comprising goods, merchandize, and produce of almost every kind. We may note the following: Passengers 2d. Children 1d. Four-wheeled carriages with two horses 2s. Do. with one horse 1s. 6d. Gig, Car, Pony Carriage 1s. Donkey Cart with two donkeys 9d. Do. with one 6d. Horse 6d. Cattle each 6d. Sheep 1d. (or 1s. 4d. per score, if over 40). Pigs 3d. Do. Stores 1½d. Geese per score 6d.[1]

There is no separate Schedule for Moel-y-don or Abermenai, and we are left to conclude that the same charges are to be made at these ferries also. When, however, we come to a separate lease of Moel-y-don, in 1874, we find that passengers are charged 1d., and children ½d., and that there are other differences.

In regard to the obligation placed upon Mr. John Owen to "build set up and provide a sufficient pier, etc.," it is possible that the new pier at Y Foel had not been entirely completed, at the time he took the ferry over from the Menai Steam Navigation Company. More probably, however, the clause in the lease merely stresses the point that the obligation to provide suitable landing places rests upon him. With the one exception of the improvement of the landing pier under the George Inn, by Telford, in 1816, no instance of Crown expenditure, for any such purpose, has been met with up to this date, though the landing piers become Crown property at the termination of the lease.

When the site of the new pier at Y Foel was decided on, the *Herald* expressed the opinion that the existing roads could soon be made available for the transit of goods from the interior of Anglesey. The road, which reaches the shore just to the eastward of Y Foel, figures in the Ordnance Surveys of 1818–23 and 1841. We have to wait for the later 6-in. maps to show us the way along the shore from Barras, but access to the new ferry landing place would, doubtless, have been soon made available by both routes. References, in the *Herald*, indicate that, prior to the completion of the Foel pier, the "Menai" plied to Barras, but this was a merely temporary arrangement. It was intended, however, to continue a service to Tal-y-foel, and the stone pier there was raised and improved. For how long this service was maintained has not been noted, but, in 1864, Mr. Thomas, of Plas Siencyn, and Mr. Lewis, "Brick Manufacturers," become the tenants of the pier and foreshore at Tal-y-foel.[1] When we come to the Admiralty Chart of 1872, we find the name "Tal-y-foil" placed at Y Foel, with the "Menai Inn" and "Ferry Pier," while at Tal-y-foel we find "Old Ferry," and at Abermenai "Ruin." Henceforward, though we still meet with local reference to Y Foel, and the Foel pier, "Tal-y-foel" is at Y Foel, and the earlier landing place is "Old Talyfoel."

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[1] L.R.R.O. 16, Box I, No. 2.

When we turn to Moel-y-don, we find that considerable changes have been taking place, near the Caernarvonshire landing place, since the commencement of the century. The slates from the Allt-du quarry, which had hitherto been shipped at Caernarvon, were, by 1802, beginning to find their way to the little inlet near the ferry, known as Aber Pwll. Before 1812 a new road had been made directly from the quarry, and the Ordnance Survey of 1818–23 names it "Slate Road," and shows that it came down Nant-y-Garth and thence led directly to "Aber Pwll or Melin heli." In 1824 a railroad, seven miles in length, is constructed between the quarry and Mr. Assheton Smith's harbour, which, in 1838, we find named "Port Dinorwig . . . anciently called Aber Pwll."[2] The Ordnance Survey of 1841 shows that this early railway followed, fairly closely, the same route as the road. The name Port Dinorwic is not yet in evidence, in the 1841 Survey, but we now find a "Slate Pier" projecting a short distance into the Straits, from beside the Aber Pwll inlet.

In 1853, Mr. Assheton Smith secures a lease of the foreshore to the south-west of Aber Pwll, for the extension of his quays. This extension will bring the quays into too close proximity to the ferry landing place, and he therefore undertakes to construct a new landing place, to which the boats shall have convenient access at all states of the tide. Mr. John Owen, as lessee of the ferry, is a consenting party to this lease.[3] The outer dock at Port Dinorwic now comes into existence, and is represented as it is at the present day, in the Admiralty Chart of 1872. This chart does not show the ferry landing piers, but we may assume that Mr. Assheton Smith constructed a pier, about where the present pier is situated, in lieu of the earlier one, immediately below the road leading down to the shore.

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[1] L.R.R.O. 13, Vol. 77, fo. 295.

[2] Williams, *Snowdon Mountains*; Evans, *Beauties of North Wales*; Lewis, *Top. Dict.*

[3] L.R.R.O. 16, Box 1, No. 39.

The lease, to Mr. John Owen, makes reference to a ferry-house on the Caernarvonshire side. The Ordnance Survey of 1841 shows a "Ferry House" upon each side of the Straits; that upon the Caernarvonshire side being situated at the bottom, and on the left-hand side, of the road coming down to the shore This road, in 1841, led across the turnpike road, and straight up the steep hill-side to Llanddeiniolen.

9. THE MOEL-Y-DON FERRY AFTER 1874

On 21st April, 1874, the ferry called "Llanddyn otherwise Boyndon otherwise Moelydon" is leased to Mr. John Williams for a term of twenty-one years from 5th April, 1874, and at a rent of £37 per annum. He is to have the right of ferrying upon any part of the Straits from a line between the Llanidan and Llanfairisgaer Churches to a line a mile and a half to the north-east of the existing ferry-house near Port Dinorwic. He undertakes to provide and maintain four good and sufficient ferry-boats, two to be exclusively used for the conveyance of passengers, and two for the conveyance of horses, sheep, cattle, carriages, merchandise, goods, and produce. He also undertakes that he will within six months construct, to the satisfaction of the Commissioners, a pier or causeway ten feet in width, upon each side of the said ferry, extending from high-water mark to low-water mark. He is also to place a large signal bell upon each side of the ferry and boards showing the tolls payable; and to convey passengers and goods across at all times in the day-time.

The Schedule of Tolls specifies: Passengers 1d. Children ½d. Gigs, Cars, Pony Carriages (1 horse) 1s. Donkey Carts, 2 donkeys 9d., 1 do. 6d. Horses and Cattle each 6d. Sheep 1d. Pigs 3d. Do. Stores 1½d. There follows a long list of charges for goods and produce.[1]

The lease to Mr. John Williams was assigned, in 1877, to a Mr. Richard Williams, and the latter was granted a new lease for twenty-one years from 5th April, 1885, at the same rent of £37 per annum. This lease, again, was assigned to a Mr.

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[1] L.R.R.O. 16, Box 53.

William Owen, and he, in his turn, was granted a new lease for twenty-one years from 10th October, 1897. The rent was in this case increased, first to £44 10s. 0d., and later to £47 per annum, in respect of expenditure incurred by the Crown in extending the piers, and in providing shelters. This lease was for some reason surrendered, as from 5th April, 1912.

The ferry was now leased to Mr. William Williams, for twenty-one-and-a-half years from 5th April, 1912, at a rent of £47 per annum, and this rent, the highest ever paid for Moel-y-don, was paid up to October, 1918, when, "owing to trade depression," the rent was reduced to £15. In January, 1920, Mr. Williams assigned his lease to Captain Thomas Lillie and Mr. H. J. Roberts, and in consideration of further expenditure by the Crown upon the jetties, the rent was once more increased to £18 2s. 6d. in April, 1926. But from 10th October, 1927, "by special Treasury authority," the rent was reduced to £10 per annum for the remainder of the term of the lease.

This was the last lease of Moel-y-don. Captain Lillie held the ferry, as a yearly tenant, for two further years up to October, 1935, at a rent of £5 per annum, but would not continue his tenancy, and the ferry ceased to operate.[1]

The toll of 1d. per passenger was increased to 2d. in 1916, and to 3d. in 1918. A motor boat was first placed at the ferry when Captain Lillie and Mr. Roberts became the lessees.[2]

The cessation of the ferry service, after October, 1935, occasioned considerable inconvenience in the immediate locality, and the Anglesey and Caernarvonshire County Councils were prepared, in 1936, to lease the ferry jointly, but the approval of the Ministry of Transport could not be obtained for such a lease, nor for the sale of the ferry to the two Councils, under the "Ferries (Acquisition by Local Authorities) Act, 1919," upon the ground that the Moel-y-don ferry was no longer an "existing ferry." Eventually, however, after prolonged negotiations, the Crown rights in the ferry, together with the landing piers and shelter houses, were conveyed to the two Councils on 3rd June, 1938, for the sum of £50.

A small motor-boat now transports passengers, at certain hours, at a toll of 2d. for a single crossing, and 3d. return.

Tal-y-foel, we shall see, was sold to the Caernarvon Corporation in 1874. So there is no longer any Crown ferry upon the Straits.

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[1] Information kindly supplied by the Commissioners of Crown Lands.

[2] Information kindly supplied by Captain Thomas Lillie.

10. THE TAL-Y-FOEL FERRY AFTER 1874

On 16th April, 1874, the Hon. J. K. Howard, Commissioner of H.M. Woods, Forests, and Land Revenue, with the consent and warrant of the Lords Commissioners of H.M. Treasury, and in consideration of the sum of four hundred and fifty-eight pounds paid into the Bank of England, grants and conveys to the Mayor and Town Council of Carnarvon, all that passage called Aber-Menai Ferry and also all that Ferry or passage of water called Tan-y-foel which said Ferries extend up the Menai Straits to a straight line drawn from Llanidan Church to Llanfairisgaer Church "together with the land and hereditaments in the said County of Anglesea belonging to Her Majesty now used in connection with and as belonging to the said Tan y foel Ferry And also the Tolls and dues arising from or payable in respect of the said Ferries Except and reserving to Her Majesty Her Heirs and Successors All the lands and hereditaments at any time heretofore held or used with or as appurtenant to the said Abermenai Ferry. To have and to hold . . . to the use of the said Mayor and Town Council and their Successors for ever."

A special clause in the conveyance provides that all matters "relating to the working leasing or management of the said Ferries shall be done and performed by a Committee chosen by the Town Council." This Committee is to consist of four members of the Town Council, and of three persons who shall be residents in either of the parishes of Llangeinwen, Llangaffo, Newborough, Llanfairycwmmwd, and Llanidan.[1] No schedule of tolls is attached to the conveyance, but we have to conclude that the tolls, which the Corporation could take, were those leviable at the time of the purchase, and in accordance with the schedule attached to the lease of 1852.

We now pass to the "Carnarvon Corporation Act" of 1897. Under this Act powers were conferred upon the Corporation for various purposes, including the construction of a pier and other works in connection with the Tal-y-foel ferry, and the construction of a Swing Bridge over the river Seiont.

The provision in the conveyance of 1874, regarding the management of the ferry, is annulled, and the ferry is to be managed solely by the Corporation henceforward.

The Corporation is empowered to construct a pier at the point where the road from Brynsiencyn reaches the shore at Barras, and to make a new road, connecting the road from Dwyran to the shore by Y Foel, with the road from Brynsiencyn to Barras, thus providing convenient access from all directions to the new pier.

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[1] L.R.R.O. 16, Box 180, Sales of Estates.

The Corporation may continue to maintain its pier at Tal-y-foel, and is also empowered to erect and maintain, upon land belonging to the Corporation, in Anglesey, and also upon the bed and foreshore of the Menai Straits, such piers, jetties, quays, and other works and conveniences, as it may deem necessary for the purposes of the ferry. It is also given power to dredge what is termed the "inner channel," between Trefarthen and Tal-y-foel.

The Swing Bridge, which the Corporation is empowered to construct over the river Seiont, is to commence opposite the Eagle Tower and to terminate opposite the Aber Ferry House. Provisions are embodied in the Act, for the protection of the owner, or owners, of the Coed Helen Estate, from whom the Corporation must purchase the Aber ferry, and any property, or rights, enjoyed in connection therewith. Failing purchase, compensation must be paid, and the amount, if not agreed, is to be fixed by arbitration.

The Tolls to be levied at the Tal-y-foel Ferry, and at the Swing Bridge, are not to exceed the sums specified in the Schedules to the Act.

Payment of ferry tolls, or bridge tolls, shall not be demanded or taken : (*a*) For any horse, or carriage, attending Her Majesty, or any of the Royal Family. (*b*) For any person, animal, carriage, or other vehicle, employed by the Postmaster General. (*c*) For any officer of customs, or inland revenue, on duty. (*d*) For any constable on duty. These provisions are said to be in addition to any exemption existing under the Army Act, 1881, or any other Act relating to Her Majesty's regular, reserve, or auxiliary forces. Among other clauses we find that the Corporation may lease the Ferry, or Bridge, for a term not exceeding seven years. The schedule of tolls provides that passengers are to pay 3d. and children 1½d., as against 2d. and 1d. under the lease of 1852. There are one or two other small changes in the list, but the tolls on carriages, donkey carts, horses, and cattle stand unaltered. The schedule of 1852 seems to have remained in force up to this time, and legal sanction was apparently necessary for any increase in the tolls leviable.

Only once before in the history of the North Wales ferries have we found servants of the Crown exempted from payment. We have seen the Bishops leasing Porthesgob, subject to free transport for themselves and their families ; also, that free passage across all the royal ferries was granted to the Monks of Aberconway, and to the Friars of Llanfaes; but only in the lease of the Conway ferry, in the year 1413, have we met with exemptions in any way similar to those introduced at Caernarvon, at this time. The Conway lease, it will be remembered, stipulated that all and singular the ministers and officers of the King should be passed over with their horses without payment. We may recall that, in the days of the mail coaches, boats had to be in readiness at Conway, and at the Bangor ferry, for the prompt transport of the mails and guard. This service was, however, paid for by the Postmaster General, as we learned at Conway.

The Corporation was planning at this time to construct a long pier at Barras, which would be accessible at all times of the tide, which the Tal-y-foel pier was not. This new pier would also have shortened the passage by two-thirds of a mile at all times when the depth of water did not permit of a direct crossing to Tal-y-foel, and when the ferry-boat had to proceed round by Barras, and up the inner, or Anglesey channel, to reach the Tal-y-foel pier. This scheme was, however, abandoned and neither the Barras pier nor the connecting road was ever made. A landing quay for goods and other conveniences was provided at Tal-y-foel, under the powers of this Act, and later, but not until 1909, a new low-water pier was constructed, some three hundred yards lower down the inner channel, in the direction of Barras.

From 1874 till 1929 steam ferry-boats capable of transporting carts and horses were maintained upon the station, the ferry being some times leased but latterly directly controlled by a Committee of the Corporation. We learn that in 1925 the ferry yielded a surplus over working expenses of £177, but that this had been reduced to £42 in the following year.[1] In February, 1927, an advertisement offers the ferry for lease for seven years, including steamer and motor-launch, piers, warehouses, and tolls.[2] No lessor could, apparently, be found, and the steam ferry-boat was taken off the service in September, 1929.

The Corporation still maintains a motor-boat service, but, as at Garth and Moel-y-don, the great development of motor transport by road, during recent years, has gravely prejudiced the ferry.

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[1] *Liverpool Post and Mercury*, 9th September, 1926.

[2] *N.W.C.*, 18th February, 1927.

APPENDIX

THE TOLL "PASSAGIUM"

The burgesses of the North Wales boroughs were granted, in their early charters, freedom from payment of certain tolls, and one of these tolls is called "passagium." The word "passagium" in mediaeval Latin, like the word "passage" in modern English, bore more than one meaning. "Passagium," or "passagium aque," was the term in general use for a ferry, and it concerns the history of the ferries that we should know what "passagium" stood for as the name of a toll.

One naturally turns first to a recognised authority, *The Law relating to Waters*, and here we find the following statement: "Many corporations and religious bodies had by grant from the Crown freedom from paying tolls of ferries, i.e., passagium."[1] This view—that the toll passagium was the payment for crossing a ferry—appears to have been widely accepted, but the evidence met with does not support it.

It is worth while, in the first place, to note what the burgesses of Beaumaris say, when asked at the Quo Warranto Proceedings, of Edward III's reign, to explain what privileges they claimed under their exemption from tolls. Their explanation is as follows: "And by that clause that they are free of toll etc. they claim that they do not pay toll for any merchandizes or wares by them bought or sold in any fairs or markets in Wales or elsewhere And by those words lestage passage murage pountage stallage danegeld and Gaywit that nothing is taken from them for customs of this kind neither for their goods or their merchandizes by land or by sea nor for the structures of bridges or walls."[2]

Three instances have been met with in which freedom from payment for being transported across the Crown ferries was granted, or provided for, and in each case the concession is most explicitly worded.

The grant by Llywelyn, to the monks of Aberconwy, states "that they and all their servants and all their goods freely and without any payment shall have transit provided across Meney Conwy Abermaw and Dyui and at all passages throughout my dominion etc." This would be a somewhat superfluous grant if the freedom from "passagium," already conceded them, relieved them from any payment for crossing the ferries.[3]

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[1] Coulson and Forbes, *Waters*, p. 531.

[2] *Rec. Caern.*, p. 161.

[3] Williams, *Aberconwy*, p. 169; and *Rec. Caern.*, p. 147.

In 1352 the Black Prince concedes free passages at the ferries to the Friars Minor of Llanfaes. He orders that "in every part where there are common passages by boats across rivers or other waters in our aforesaid lordships they have there free passage for themselves their people servants and pack-animals for their victuals at all times when they wish to pass without paying anything to us or to our custodians or to the farmers of the said passages."[1]

Our third instance is the lease of the Conway ferry, at the close of Glyndŵr's rebellion, subject to the condition "that all and singular the ministers and officers of the lord King may be freely and quietly passed over with their horses without any payment for the same passage."[2]

Why all these details, if the mere grant of freedom from "passagium" would have sufficed? Also, is it likely that the burgesses crossed free, while the King's ministers and officers had ordinarily to pay? If there were any free passes going, one would have expected John Kerver, Master of the King's Works in North Wales during Henry VIII's reign, to have one; but as we have seen, under Beaumaris, and under Porthaethwy, he had to pay.

Henry VII's Charter appears to have a distinct bearing upon the statement quoted above, from *The Law relating to Waters.* This Charter grants to the tenants and inhabitants of the three counties of North Wales, whether dwelling in Beaumaris and the other English towns, or outside of them, and also to strangers coming into these counties with goods and merchandize for sale, freedom from toll, including "passagium." None of them are henceforward to be compelled to pay any tolls, stallages, passages, or customs, within these counties for any goods, or articles or chattels, bought or sold or for purchase or sale; but from such payments are exempted for ever.[3] Thus, whatever privilege the burgesses of Beaumaris had enjoyed, through their freedom from "passagium," was to be extended by Henry VII's Charter to all the inhabitants of the three counties and to all merchants visiting them. Will it be argued that it was the intention of the Charter to abolish all "tolls of ferries" in North Wales?

When we turn to Gross's *Gild Merchant*, we find ourselves on different ground. Gross defines "Passagium" as "Passage money levied on merchants visiting markets and fairs," and he quotes the burgesses of Chester as explaining their freedom from this toll, in the words, "that they are free from all passages for any merchandizes and other articles of theirs bought or sold by them in any fairs markets or other places."[1]

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[1] Letters to John de Delves, Lieutenant to the Justice. Attached to M.A. 1149/2.

[2] M.A. 1176/1.

[3] *Arch. Camb.*, Vol. II (1847), p. 215.

Neither Gross nor the Chester burgesses tell us where these "passage moneys" were levied, but some light is thrown upon this point in *Mediaeval Cheshire*, from which the following passage is quoted :—

> "Certain tenants of Longdendale were accustomed to 'keep (or guard) the roads towards Chester markets,' and a certain Urien de St. Pierre held the 'passage' of Tarporley and Kelsall (where the high road emerges through a defile from Delamere Forest), by the service of 'guarding the roads at the time of the markets of Chester.' A similar measure of protection was afforded at the passage of Lawton and Nantwich where an important highway from the south entered the County. Since the passage of Kelsall was valued at 3s. and the passage of Lawton was farmed (at various sums) it would appear that some form of toll was taken."[2]

Some of Mr. Hewitt's references have been followed up, and the following clause, from a grant of the passage of Lawton for three years, from Easter, 1350, is of interest for our purpose.

"Know that we have committed to our beloved Robert le Hayward of Lauton the bailiwick of the passage of Lauton and Wyci Malbi with all pertaining to that bailiwick in all places where that passage has at any time been accustomed to be taken."[3]

Here we find the levying of "passagium" authorized at several places which were perhaps on alternative routes across a certain district. This is no ferry toll, but what Gross terms "passage money," and from the payment of which the burgesses of Chester claimed to be exempt. May we not conclude that the "passagium" from which the burgesses of Beaumaris, Newborough, Caernarvon, and Conway were exempt, and which Henry VII's Charter designed to abolish, and eventually did abolish by making the exemption universal, was of this same character ?[1]

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[1] Gross, *Gild Merchant*, Vol. II (Glossary).

[2] Hewitt, *Cheshire*, p. 71.

[3] Chester Recognisance Rolls, 34 m. 2 (6). "Sciatis quod commissimus dilecto nobis Roberto le Hayward de Lauton balliuam passagii de Lauton et Wyci Malbi cum omnibus ad illam balliuam pertinentibus in omnibus locis ubi aliquo tempore passagium illud capi consuevit."

It may be added that no evidence has been met with indicating that the burgesses of the North Wales boroughs were ever free of their own, or any other ferries, nor of any tradition amongst them to this effect.[2]

The toll of mediaeval times seems clearly to have been levied upon goods and merchandise only. In the records of the Conway and Menai ferries, we have first met with the word toll, as signifying the payment for being transported across a ferry, in 1772, in the proceedings following Bishop Ewer's intrusion at Porthaethwy. One is inclined to surmise that the modern use of the word, in the sense of a charge levied upon traffic, upon vehicles and persons, as such, may perhaps have originated with the turnpike gates.

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[1] Henry VII's Charter was not, for some reason, given legal sanction until 29 Elizabeth, when Richard Bulkeley Knight, and other Anglesey gentlemen, raised the issue before the Court of Exchequer. We learn, at this time, that no tolls had been paid at Newborough, or Llanerchymedd, for thirty-nine years, the tenants and inhabitants claiming exemption under the Charter. Their claims are now admitted.

Vide L.R.I., Vol. 216 (North Wales, Vol. 5), fo. 73.

[2] We may mention the definition of "passagium" which Robert Williams quotes as attached to a manuscript copy of Edward I's Charter of Conway, in his possession. This clearly has nothing to do with a ferry, but is on the same lines as the claim made by the Chester burgesses. Williams, *Aberconwy*, p. 184.

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